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Spaniards, 'pardos', and the missing mestizos: identities and racial categories in the early Hispanic Caribbean

Traces the history of the mestizos, the descendants of Spanish-Indian contacts during the early stages of Caribbean settlement. Author asks whether they constituted a separate ethnicity. He also looks at the question why the position of the mestizos in the Spanish Caribbean seems different from that in other areas in Spanish America.

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SPANIARDS, *PARDOS*, AND THE MISSING MESTIZOS:  
IDENTITIES AND RACIAL CATEGORIES IN  
THE EARLY HISPANIC CARIBBEAN<sup>1</sup>

On arrival in Puerto Rico today, one can not but help noticing the way in which the term *criollo* has become a descriptive adjective denoting things local or indigenous to the island: café criollo, comida criolla, música criolla, pan criollo, etc. The word *criollo* has become a way of claiming authenticity and a distinctive island identity. In the Americas, the term “criollo” had a complex history, many uses, and considerable regional variation. Used in Brazil (*crioulo*) and in early Spanish America as a designation for American-born black slaves, the term was often employed generically for anything locally-born. Hence usages such as *ganado criollo* (native cattle) or even, as in the case of Guatemala, of references to *mestizos criollos* (Megged 1992:422-24; García Arévalo 1992a). The traditional usage of the term in colonial mainland Spanish America – as a designation a white person of European heritage born in the colony – had begun to take hold in the 1560s (Lavallé 1986, 1993; Lockhart 1994) but it had never fully taken hold in the islands.<sup>2</sup> Father Agustín Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra (1971: 181-84) reported in the 1780s: “They give the name *criollo* without distinction to all those born on the island regardless of the caste or mixture from which they derive.” Clearly a fusion of categories of social and racial differences was summarized in this term. In it, an identity and a history are claimed (Sider 1994).

In the Hispanic Caribbean with its peculiar early demographic history of elimination of the indigenous population, low levels of European immigration, and the large-scale importation of Africans, the process of classification had a distinctive character and form in which whites, blacks, Indians, and people of mixed origins were grouped and categorized in different ways at different times. This study seeks to explore a small part of

this process by examining the mestizos, the descendants of Spanish-Indian contacts during the early stages of Caribbean settlement. Mestizos, there from the outset, seem to fade from sight. What happened to them? Did they constitute a separate ethnicity, and why does their position in the Hispanic Caribbean seem different from that in other areas of Spanish America?

In the search for the origins of identities in the colonial world, it has become increasingly clear that identity and ethnicity are not the same thing. In colonial Latin America (and I suspect elsewhere), the ethnic and color categories applied to people by others and those used for self-identification often resulted from a variety of practical considerations: responsibility for taxes, tribute, or military service, access to resources, escape from labor requirements, desire for social mobility and other such goals. They did not necessarily reflect identities – ways in which people defined themselves and perceived collective interests – in any meaningful way. There has been a tendency in Latin American and Caribbean historiography to assume that the commonly employed ethnic markers – Spaniards, Indians, mestizos, Africans, slaves – constituted groupings that expressed identities. That is an assumption that needs to be reconsidered. These designations and labels were temporally and regionally determined, historically specific, and subject to creation and alteration. They did not necessarily indicate much about identity or even ethnicity. In fact, I would argue that much colonial social legislation specifically sought to force the congruence of legally defined ethnic and racial categories with social realities – often unsuccessfully.

The conquest and early settlement of the Americas set in motion a complex series of processes of creation and redefinition of human categories and purported affiliations of which miscegenation was only one. Peoples were defined by their hostility or acquiescence into “tribes” or kingdoms, new groupings of historically disparate peoples developed in response to European pressures; processes of fission, migration, fusion, and recombination, all of which had taken place before the European arrival, probably intensified thereafter. One need only mention the “invention” of the Caribs to recognize some of these processes at work (Sued Badillo 1978; Hulme 1986; Whitehead 1990). At the same time, the conquest resulted in the production of new groupings and definitions – *caciques*, *naborias* (dependents who were virtually but not legally slaves), and *allegados* (Indians no longer living in their original villages) – and ultimately of whole new colonial categories like “Indian,” “creole” or “mestizo.”<sup>3</sup> Even a term like “Spaniard” while lexically unchanged acquired a different semantic meaning in the spaces of contact where it came

to mean anyone accepted as a member of the conquering caste and sharing certain cultural attributes rather than a person born in Spain.

Noticeable from the outset after 1492 is the relative lack of reference to people of mixed origin or, perhaps more exactly, to people called "mestizos." This is surely not because they did not exist. There was no lack of sexual contact. Almost all the early chroniclers, Benzoni, Oviedo, Las Casas, and others make this abundantly clear (Pérez de Barradas 1948). Beginning with the presumed abuses of Indian women by the contingent of mariners left by Columbus at La Navidad in 1492, and continuing in places like the Villa de Vera Paz where Las Casas reported "seventy Spaniards, most of them *hidalgos*, married to women of this land," the rapes, concubinage, and formalized unions surely produced a generation of children of mixed origin. Subsequent references to them in the Caribbean, however, are remarkably few. Surely this is a matter of definition, not reproduction.

To understand miscegenation and Spanish ambivalence toward this process, it is useful to review early policy and practice about contact with Indian women. While there are examples from early Española that relations between Spanish men and Indian women were ideologically deplored, such unions were also at times suggested to prevent moral lapses or to obtain economic or social advantages.<sup>4</sup> Spanish-Indian marriages were projected in the Laws of Burgos (1512) and were expressly permitted by royal order in 1514. Cardinal Cisneros's instructions (1516) to the Jeronimite missionaries to promote marriages between Spaniards and the daughters of caciques so that in a generation all the caciques would be Spaniards underlined not only the utilitarian ends of such policy, but also the assumption that the mestizo offspring would be defined as Spaniards (Konetzke 1947).

As settlement and occupation rather than conquest per se increasingly preoccupied Spanish concerns, a policy which emphasized stability emerged. There was growing criticism of unrestrained sexual exploitation and of concubinage. Just as the Portuguese were to do in their Indian Ocean colonies, by the 1510s, the Spaniards preferred and encouraged the settlement of *casados* or married men in the Spanish Caribbean, even if those marriages were with Indian women (Uchmany 1987; Subrahmanyam 1993:219-22). Governor Ovando under urging from the Franciscans brought considerable pressure on Spaniards resident on Española to marry their mistresses who were among the "principal and most beautiful [Taino] women on the island." Many did so in order not to lose "the service and the lordship that they held over these women" (Herrera y Tordesillas



1601-15, I:vi, xviii). The policy, however, was not welcomed by everyone, including the king.

In the 1514 distribution of Indian laborers on Española known as the "Repertimiento de Albuquerque," men known to have their wives in Spain were, in a number of cases, required to bring them to the island or else lose their access to Indian workers. At that time, of the 551 encomenderos listed on the island, over 35 percent (195) were married men and about one-third of them married to Indians, referred to a women "of the island" (Moya Pons 1982).<sup>5</sup> There was a similar recognition of the importance of marital status in the "Información de Francisco Manuel de Lando," a census taken in Puerto Rico between November 1530 and February 1531.<sup>6</sup>

Table 1. Marital Status in San Juan 1531

		Percent of all listed	Percent of those married
solteros (single)	60	43.5	
married to Spaniards	68	48.5	87.2
mujer de Castilla	12		
mujer de España	37		
mujer en España	* 19		
married to non-Spaniards	10	6.0	12.9
mujer india	2	1.0	2.6
mujer de esta tierra	* 6	4.0	7.7
mujer negra	2	1.0	2.6

\* includes one case of a man engaged (*desposado*)

Source: Damiani Cósimi 1994.

Of the 138 propertied men in the district of San Juan for whom marital status can be determined in the Lando census, over half were married and of those, 87 percent (68) were married to Spanish women, the majority of whom resided on the island. Why the census made a distinction between women from Castile (*mujer de Castilla*) and women from Spain (*mujer de España*) is unclear since Castile and Spain were often used interchangeably as descriptive markers of location, and I doubt any regional or provincial distinction was made.

Marriages to Indian women were almost non-existent, but there were a number of men married to women "of this land" (*de esta tierra*).<sup>7</sup> In the earlier censuses in Santo Domingo, this designation had been a euphemism for Indian, but may in the Lando census denote "mestizo," and thereby be the beginning of recognition of a separate status for women of mixed origin. If that is the case, then Spanish men were marrying them in pre-

ference to Indians, and one man is even listed as being formally engaged (*desposado*) to a "woman of the land." What is important to note here is that statistically marriage to mestizo or Indian women did not affect access to laborers and did not disadvantage those who married them. Finally, we must assume that many of the unmarried Spaniards were living in irregular unions with local women. The administration severely criticized an early administrator of the city of San Juan for not punishing these public sins "of which there were plenty" and later ecclesiastical authorities continually complained of the immorality of the situation (Murga Sanz 1957-64, II:49).<sup>8</sup>

These early censuses suggest the emergence of a population of mixed origin but they do not resolve the problem of its place within the social structure nor the existence of any kind of distinct identity. In the Caribbean as elsewhere, the problems of examining the role and status of persons of mixed origin is their liminal position. The first generation of mestizos were not so much a new category of people as a "new kind of people," not contained within the usual social definitions and subject to new ones (Schwartz & Salomon forthcoming). Throughout Spanish America, the process of their definition would take place historically in relation not only to the dominant Hispanic colonial regime, but also in relation to local indigenous society. The relationship of mestizos to their mothers' family and kinship units, their mothers' social standing or rank, and the access of these mestizos to the patronage and resources of their fathers all served to determine their position. So long as there was an indigenous society as referent – Inca, Nahuatl, Chibcha, Tupinambá, etc. – mestizos had some choice about their interests and attachments and identities. They might be accepted into Hispanic society, especially if they were legitimate and even more so if they were women, they might serve in key roles as intermediaries between Spanish and indigenous societies, or in some cases use their understanding of European ways to assume leadership roles in movements of indigenous resistance, but such roles depended on the existence of, and acceptance by indigenous societies.

The Caribbean, especially the islands of the Greater Antilles, presented a considerable variation in this process. Here, the rapid and precipitous drop in Indian population essentially left the mestizos within a generation or two without a role as cultural go-betweens, and an existence only in relation to Hispanic society or later to the growing number of Africans brought in to fill the demand for labor. Thus options of designation and identification became limited. People of mixed origin could become "Spaniards," or they could become a neoteric indigenous population, but they could not – for long – become Indians.<sup>9</sup>

The word "mestizo" itself appeared in the Caribbean as early as the 1520s but it was rarely used, a fact surprisingly paralleled in early Peru and Paraguay where less pejorative terms like *genízaro* or *montanés* were preferred at first. In a place like Puerto Rico, for example, it is difficult to find any references to mestizos despite the fact that many already existed by the 1530s. The Lando census of 1530 enumerated Spaniards, Indians, and blacks but made no mention of persons of mixed origin. Over a century later, in the 1645 synod of San Juan there was no reference to mestizos, and the presiding Bishop, Damián López de Haro, in describing the island's population made no mention of them.<sup>10</sup> Still, modern historian Francisco Scarano (1993:199) has argued that by the seventeenth century mestizos "were probably more numerous than the Spaniards themselves." What may be at stake here is not the definition of "mestizo," but rather the definition of "Spaniard." Mestizos, especially those born legitimately and who lived according to accepted colonial norms were being accepted as "Spaniards," a term that now no longer indicated place of origin alone, but was being expanded to indicate status and a level of acceptance based on cultural attributes and probably to some extent on appearance (Schwartz 1995).

Some clues to the process of miscegenation and definition are suggested by a statement in the Repartimiento of Albuquerque of 1514 which documents the assignment of the Indians of Española to Spaniards. Apparently, some Spaniards had previously appropriated the children of mixed unions as laborers. The representative of the crown specifically prohibited such actions. The precise language of the prohibition is important to note here:

It is said that if some sons and daughters of Christians are registered in the said repartimiento, it being said that they are the children of women natives of the said island, and that [in] the said repartimiento they have been assigned to one or another of the said persons, that the said assignments [*encomienda*] be void, and that the children of Christians be free from all subjugation and servitude, and that their parents or relatives do with them freely whatever they wish.<sup>11</sup>

Noticeable here is the recognition of the existence of Indian-white offspring and their definition not as "mestizos," but rather as "children of Christians."

This terminology and perhaps the perception of it began to change slowly. A proposal to promote the populating of Española spoke of a plan to bring together colonists from Spain and "negros y mestizos."<sup>12</sup> The term "mestizo" was employed as early as 1533 with pejorative connotations. Francisco de Barrionuevo wrote to Charles I from Santo Domingo:

Here there are many mestizos, children of Spaniards and Indians, who are generally born on the ranches [*estancias*] and in the countryside [*despoblados*] and one can say that outside the city everything is unpopulated. They are naturally bellicose, mendacious, and friends of every evil. It would be convenient to take them to Spain when very young and not let them return unless they turn out well; otherwise one can fear that they will cause a rising of the blacks and natives.<sup>13</sup>

Barrionuevo said this because at that moment mestizos were reported to be among the group of Enriquillo<sup>14</sup> and others resisting Spanish rule. Such fears were easily transformed into prejudices. When Father Riberos, son of a conquistador and an Indian woman, received a position with a royal pension there were those who opposed him and pointed to the stain (*mancha*) of his birth. The Archbishop of Santo Domingo had to come to his defense, noting that he was the best singer in the choir and when he was absent the service greatly suffered (Utrera 1978, I:67).

Given the many references to the Spanish appropriation of Indian women, often by force, sometimes as a strategy to acquire rights of succession, and sometimes for personal or amorous considerations, it is clear that a large and growing population of mixed origin existed. In the Repartimiento of Albuquerque, of the 182 Spaniards listed as married, fifty-seven (31 percent) were married to Indian women (Moya Pons 1982). Where are their offspring? Their absence in existing documentation suggests that they were being defined not as a separate category, but as Spaniards (López Cantos 1985).

We know the names and histories of some. Miguel Díaz de Aux in Santo Domingo had two children with a high-status Indian woman. A son, Miguelico, was recognized in his father's will of 1504 and later participated in his father's military activities (García Arévalo 1992b:249). Of the Cuban "mestizos," there were those like Gómez Suárez de Figueroa who went with his father along with Hernando de Soto to Florida and became a powerful patriarch in Puerto Príncipe; Cortés's own daughter with a Cuban Indian woman who later married Juan de Salcedo, a conquistador of Mexico; Father Miguel Velázquez, who taught Latin in Santiago de Cuba in the 1540s and later served on its town council (Pérez de Barradas 1948:96-97).

These examples serve to underline the permeability of the category Spaniard, the fact that it was accessible to people of mixed origin, and the ambivalence of colonial definitions of these people. A military census of Havana in 1582 did not include slaves but it divided the population into *vecinos* or permanent residents, their children and dependents, and single men; *vecinos* who lived by their own labor (artisans), and their children;

those passing through (*estantes*), free blacks, and Indians. These were categories of legal status associated with occupation. There was no separate mestizo category. But the term mestizo like that of mulatto and of the non-Spanish and thus separately registered Portuguese was used as a personal descriptor, a means of identification. Twenty-two mestizos were listed, mostly as permanent residents who lived by a trade.

Table 2. Military Effectives in Havana (1582)

	Portuguese	Mestizos	Mulattos	total
vecinos	4	0	0	47
vecino sons and dependents	0	0	0	14
vecinos that labor	15	7	1	60
sons of laboring vecinos	0	14	0	29
non-established residents	3	2	2	48 (198)
freed blacks	1	25		
Indians				39 (64)
				262

Source: Marrero 1974-92, II:332-34.<sup>15</sup>

Here we see that categories like mestizo and mulatto were descriptors of origin but not separate categories of status. Mestizos were accepted as vecinos, but were concentrated among the laboring and artisan occupations where, in fact, they made up about a quarter of that group. No mestizos could be found among the ranks of the senior civil and military officials, members of the *cabildo*, or wealthiest citizens. The "stain" of their birth disqualified them for such honors and distinctions, but such disabilities were also suffered by them and by whites because of artisan or mechanic origins. By the end of the sixteenth century, mestizos had been absorbed into the "Spanish" population, sometimes as members of honorable families, and sometimes as a subordinate category. The effect of this process was to expand the islands' definition of Spaniard but not always with the approval of those coming from Spain itself. Bishop Sebastian Lorenzo Pizzaro could write from San Juan in 1738: "there are very few white families without mixture of all the bad races" (Sued Badillo & López Cantos 1986:256-73).

The first stage of miscegenation and incorporation thus accompanied the rapid demise of the Indian population and the subsequent depopulation of the islands in the wake of the further conquests of the American

mainlands. In 1520, in an investigation of the depopulation of Española, many witnesses testified to the shrinking of population both of "people and Indians (*gente e indios*), or as Hernando Gorjón put it, of "Castilian people, workers, men of means, farmers and merchants and of Indians, natives of this island."<sup>16</sup>

As these demographic changes took place, the position and condition of the people of mixed origin changed. The disappearance of the Indian population meant subsequent generations of mestizos could not spring primarily from European-Indian contacts, but rather from unions between Europeans and people of mixed origins or from unions among the mestizos themselves. Furthermore, unlike the later situation in Mexico and Peru, there was virtually no creation of cultural mestizos, that is, Indians who by dress, language, and action were changing their status and thereby swelling the mestizo ranks. Under these conditions, the people of mixed origin could not have easily become a new subordinate group, a kind of ersatz Indians replacing the former indigenous population. Moreover, their early acceptance as Spaniards and continued unions with Europeans complicated that process.

If Spaniards and Indians had been the only actors in this story, then the mestizos might simply have been absorbed into the Spanish population, although recognized as lacking the honor and distinction that was associated with high status, but the arrival of significant numbers of Africans essentially prevented that from happening. Whereas there had been considerable ambivalence about the status of children produced by contact with Indians, and despite some pejorative and negative definitions, a tendency for them to be absorbed into the category of "Spaniard," there was no such uncertainty over the status of Africans. Traditional associations with slavery and with the lack of *civilitas* placed Africans in a mostly unambiguous subordinate category.<sup>17</sup> As the importation of Africans increased and a population of mixed Afro-European origins resulted, all mixtures came to be associated with it and with its lack of honor and distinction. Mestizos who at first had been absorbed into the status of Spaniards, became increasingly defined as part of a general *pardo* or mulatto population, more closely associated with Africans, and thus of lower status.

A comment on both official attitude and island practice can be seen in a letter from Bishop Francisco Escañuelas in 1674 who complained that the governor of Puerto Rico was removing soldiers from their positions if they married on the island. As the Bishop said, "some governor will say it is so that no Spaniard will marry with a *mulata* so that he will not have children with the stain [*hijos manchados*]." Bishop Escañuelas pointed out with

irony that many soldiers had lived for twenty years on the island in illicit unions with black and mulatto women creating "damnable children" (*hijos de maldición*) and suffering no loss of status for their sins, but if they followed the precepts of the Church and the bishop's urgings and married these women, then the governor claimed their honor was lost. His complaint was not in defense of such unions or of mulattos, for he seemed to share the governor's negative opinions. He was simply defending the sacrament of marriage (López Cantos 1974:37, n.56).

In fact, Bishop Escañuelas was joining a debate that had taken place on the island for some time. In 1660, Governor Pedro Alvarez de Toledo had written to the king arguing against any attempt to limit local marriages by the soldiers coming from Spain. He claimed,

this is a land so small that there is no one to marry the women if some soldier or stranger does not arrive, for everyone is related to everyone else and if the soldiers' positions are taken away (if they marry with some creole woman as has been proposed), they will go to the hills to seek their sustenance (López Cantos 1974:36).

Thus by the mid-seventeenth century, the term *criolla* already had acquired the multiple meanings of local and racially mixed, and there was a perception of a potential loss in honor and status for those who entered into unions with such people.

While official attitudes toward miscegenation in the Hispanic Caribbean were never fully codified nor expressed with the clarity and vigor of Edward Long who in his *History of Jamaica* (1774, II:332) called such unions, "the staining of a moral creature by an immoral one ... the conjunctions of white and black ... two tinctures which nature has disassociated like oil and vinegar." Nevertheless, the elites widely shared negative and pejorative perceptions of such contact and its results, although little could be done to stop the process.

The term "mestizo" itself came to mean any person of mixed origin, no matter what groups were involved. Bishop Pérez Lozano had complained in 1738 that there had been so much marriage with pardos that it was impossible to find candidates qualified for civil office or religious vocations (Sued Badillo & López Cantos 1986:21). This process was long but by the eighteenth century it had transformed the perception of the island populations. Father Abbad y Lasierra in his travels in Puerto Rico in the late eighteenth century noted, for example, that in the town of Añasco the population had been almost entirely Indian (mestizo) but that:

one sees none of this caste for they have mixed with others from which has resulted a community of zambos and mulattos and one can not find a fully white man, and this has happened throughout the island for although in the general accounting many whites are listed and they are held as such, one sees in the parish registers in all the towns that they are the mixture of whites and Indians and these with zambos, mulattos, and blacks (Abbad y Lasierra 1977).

This homogenization of categories based on color or origins into a generalized category of *pardos* or what García Arévalo has called in Hispanola "mulatinization," appears to have been a common phenomenon in the Hispanic Caribbean. The term "mestizo" came to mean any person of mixed origin. In none of the islands did "mestizo" become an identity in any meaningful way, it was simply becoming a term of self-reference, a way of not being a mulatto. Such racially-defined labels were always volatile and relational and as the demographic and social contexts of the islands changed, so too did the nature of the definitions and the relations.<sup>18</sup> What did happen over time, however, was the increasing identification of mixed background as a general characteristic of the free population as a whole.<sup>19</sup> In the Hispanic Caribbean, "Spaniards" were not Spaniards, whites were not quite white, mestizos became pardos, Indians "disappeared," and as Abbad y Lasierra recognized, everyone became a *criollo*.

## NOTES

1. The author wishes to thank Genaro Rodríguez Morel, Francisco Scarano, David Ryden, and Franklin Knight for their help and suggestions. The author also benefited from the discussion of an earlier version of this study that was presented to the Association of Caribbean Historians (Barbados 1996).

2. The etymology of the term *criollo* is complex and controversial. It has been suggested that it came into Spanish from the Portuguese term *crioulo* used for slaves born in America and may have been introduced by the Africans themselves who learned the term from the Portuguese who controlled the early slave trade to Spanish America. Garcilaso de la Vega said that it was a term used by blacks too to refer to the offspring of Spanish men and women. By the end of the sixteenth century it had acquired this meaning in Mexico and Peru although there were regional variations (see Alvar 1987).

3. An interesting discussion of how pre-contact categories could be transformed and given new meaning is provided by the term *naboria*. See the discussion in Zavala 1948:152-54.

4. Governor Ovando exiled from Española a Spaniard who had served as a go-between in a marriage between an Indian and a Spaniard. On this and on the differing Spanish policies toward miscegenation, see Richard Konetzke 1947:38-48. On the Spanish attempts to acquire chieftainships through marriage see Wilson 1985.



5. There were apparently 738 encomenderos but information on marital status seems to exist only on 551. See Moya Pons 1982:42, Table iv.
6. Marital status was a central feature in the recording of labor-holding settlers in the area of San Juan but was not recorded for the district of San Germán. Thus it is impossible to compare this feature across the island.
7. There were two cases of men married to black women but both were themselves black like, "Diego Hernández, de color negro casado con muger de su color." See Damiani Cosimi 1994:96.
8. Residencia of Licenciado Velázquez in Murga Sanz 1957-64, II:49. Spanish ambivalence on the issue of marriage to Indian women and the need to create a stable, married population led to contradictory legislation and debates between civil and ecclesiastical officials. See Konetzke 1947:218-19.
9. On Cuba, at least, Indians were still a presence until the late sixteenth century, but it is difficult to determine if they were indigenous to the island. The Spanish Caribbean practice of bringing indigenous peoples from other islands and the mainlands (including Brazil) truly began to create a population for which the term "Indian" was not a misnomer, but rather a new colonial category. For recognition of the Indian presence in Cuba, see Knight 1988. On "neoteric" societies which are often hybrid populations with rather shallow traditions, see the classic article by Nancie L. Gonzalez (1970) and her case study of the Black Caribs (1983). Also relevant are Helms 1969; Bateman 1990; and Chappel 1993.
10. Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Seville, Sección Santo Domingo (SD), 172 cited in *Sínodo de San Juan de Puerto Rico de 1645*:xxv.
11. Pacheco, Cárdenas & Torres de Mendoza 1864-84, I:225, "Repertimiento de la Isla española."
12. "Proyecto sobre la población de la Española, que proponen a su Magestad algunos vecinos principales della," *Santo Domingo en los manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz* (Santo Domingo, 1981), pp. 292-93.
13. AGI, SD 77, Ramo 111, doc. 69, Francisco de Barrionuevo (August 26, 1533). It also appears in a somewhat modified version in Marte (1981:36). See also Konetzke 1947:17.
14. Enriquillo was the cacique of Xaragua who had risen in 1519 and who led a stiff resistance of Indians and escaped black slaves until the Spanish finally concluded a peace with him in 1533.
15. The original appears in AGI, SD 99. See also, Governor Pedro de Valdés to the king (January 3, 1604) in which he mentions the "gente de la tierra," (Indians, blacks, and mulattos) and notes their lack of civility and their susceptibility to heresy (Pichardo 1977, I:123-40).
16. AGI, Patronato real, 2, caja 1, leg. 18, printed in Pacheco, Cárdenas & Torres de Mendoza I:386-414.
17. On European perceptions of differences in the status of civility and savagery as justifications for conquest and empire see Pagden 1995:31-62.

18. See the debate and discussion on "identities," in Joyce 1995.
19. We must also not overlook the contemporary European perception of the supposed effects of the New World on the Spaniards themselves who under influence of Indian ways and customs and the climate, had, like the plants and animals of the Old World, been altered in their character. Tomás de Córdova (1968, I:177) wrote in the early nineteenth century: "Los primeros españoles que se establecieron en esta Isla, corrigieron en parte el character de los Indios, tomando de estos al mismo tiempo el modo de vivir, alimentarse, y alojarse; dexaron mucha parte de las costumbres de su educación con su trato y mudanza de clima; la misma variación se observa en los animales, plantas, y semillas que se transportan de España à América."

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GAIL SAUNDERS

THE CHANGING FACE OF NASSAU:  
THE IMPACT OF TOURISM ON BAHAMIAN SOCIETY  
IN THE 1920s AND 1930s

INTRODUCTION

During the second half of the twentieth century, fundamental change took place in the Caribbean. Many former colonies became independent and sought to develop their own political, economic, and cultural patterns. Despite this, the dependency on foreign investment remained. The tourist industry which developed in most Caribbean territories during this period was an "engine of growth," and the key to development and modernization (Pattullo 1996:5-6).

As Polly Pattullo (1996:7-12) also demonstrated, the development of tourism while raising the standard of living for many in the region has also had a negative impact in some areas. The dependency on tourism and the change from elite tourism to mass tourism has had damaging effects on the economies, the socio-racial relations, the fragile infrastructure, cultural development, and the environment.

In the Bahamas as in Jamaica, Barbados, and Cuba, tourism on a small scale was developing as early as the nineteenth century. However, it was during the interwar years (1919-1939), that there was a tremendous growth in tourist travel internationally. North Americans travelled to Europe and within the United States especially to Florida and California which offered sunshine and warmth. Some ventured to the more "exotic" Caribbean and the Atlantic islands of Bermuda and New Providence (Nassau) in the Bahamas (Taylor 1973:1).

The Caribbean, as Paradise in European imagination, had come full circle – "from Paradise to wasteland and back again" (Strachan 1995:38). Frank Taylor (1993:4) states that by the early twentieth century, the Caribbean –

particularly Barbados, Jamaica, Cuba, the Bahamas (and Bermuda) – “began to be transformed into playgrounds” for itinerant Europeans and Americans in search of “health and enjoyment.” The once tropical plantations, thought to be unfit for whites, “were being touted as veritable gardens of Eden.”

The Bahamas was emerging as a “rich man’s paradise” from the mid-nineteenth century and tourism further expanded during the bonanza years of Prohibition in the United States (1919-33). Additionally, the decline in the traditional agricultural and sponge fishing industries and the possibility of quick money encouraged the colonial administrators and the House of Assembly to embrace the tourist business.

There is no detailed account of the tourist industry in the Bahamas. General historians (Albury 1975; Hughes 1981; Craton 1986) mention the industry briefly. Ian Strachan’s (1995) recent doctoral dissertation has proved useful as has, especially from a comparative perspective, Frank Taylor’s *To Hell with Paradise* (1993). Important sources, besides the traditional Colonial Office papers, include newspapers, travelogues, post-cards, touristic magazines, and oral history interviews.

This paper describes how Bahamian tourism developed in the 1920s and 1930s and analyzes the impact on the socio-economic and political life of the colony, including race relations and its effect on white, colored, and black entrepreneurs. It concludes by comparing Nassau then to contemporary times there, and in the wider Caribbean.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN THE 1920S AND 1930S

As early as 1740, Nassau had gained a reputation as a winter and health resort for “invalids” and others from the United States and Canada seeking a change and warmer climate. However, up to the nineteenth century, tourism still existed on a very small scale and had limited impact on the economy. During the 1850s, the government began to actively promote tourism. It made contracts with the shipping companies and financed the building of the first hotel, the Royal Victoria (Albury 1975:221-22).

Tourism remained a small industry, yet at the end of the nineteenth century there was another concerted effort to promote tourism. Governor Haynes Smith, eager to attract visitors from Florida which was becoming a popular resort for American northerners, negotiated with Henry M. Flagler, a wealthy oil magnate, developer of South Florida and the owner of the East Coast Railway and a large number of hotels.<sup>1</sup> Flagler was instrumental in boosting the development of tourism. He bought the Royal Victoria

Hotel, agreed to build and maintain another hotel, the Colonial (opened in 1900), and to connect Nassau with his system of hotels and railways in Florida. This contract with Flagler and the very important Hotel and Steamship Act of 1898 gave the colony a winter passenger service between Nassau and Miami and a high standard of hotel accommodation (Albury 1975:225; Saunders 1985:35). These hotels provided "splendid" facilities for the wealthy visitor who wintered in Nassau. This type of visitor began the "season," which was to set a pattern for the tourist industry until the late 1940s (Albury 1975:225).

Much of the success of the tourist industry in the 1920s and 1930s was due to the upswing in the economy during Prohibition in the United States. Nassau, a transshipment port for smuggling liquor into the United States, benefitted greatly from rum-running profits. Revenues increased as a result of the dramatic rise in liquor exports (Craton 1986:250-55; Saunders 1985:241-51; Craton & Saunders, forthcoming).

Hotel facilities were expanded and improved. Guests were accommodated at the major hotels – the New Colonial, the Fort Montagu, completed in 1926, and the Royal Victoria. There were also smaller hotels such as the Prince George (after the mid-1930s), Lucerne, and Allen, with notorious reputations for housing rum-runners, and several boarding houses. Some private families accepted paying guests while others leased furnished houses for the winter.

The Colonial was destroyed by fire on March 31, 1922. The government and the Development Board, determined that there should be little or no adverse effect on tourism, contracted The Munson Steamship Line to quickly rebuild it. With a low interest government loan and imported West Indian and Cuban laborers, the company rebuilt it in six months. The hotel re-opened for the best season ever in February 1923. Aesthetically, the new structure was an eyesore. It was designed in the Spanish-American style, imported from South Florida, representing the first break with the traditional colonial Georgian architectural style (Saunders & Cartwright 1979:44).

Like most expatriate officials Governor Sir Bede Clifford (1932-1937) was at first skeptical about making tourism the mainstay of the Bahamian economy and attempted to improve agricultural production. However, he realized that tourism could quickly bolster the flagging economy and replace the revenue lost on exports boosted by Prohibition profits. As he recalled in his memoirs, he advised his Executive Council: "Well gentlemen, it amounts to this – if we can't take the liquor to the Americans we must bring the Americans to the liquor." The Governor saw it as "a choice between the tourist industry and bankruptcy" (Clifford 1964:194). In

other words, the liquor in Nassau attracted tourists "in waves and floods."

Clifford therefore enthusiastically embarked on a policy to encourage tourists. In 1932 he had negotiated a tighter contract with the Munson Company, which had hitherto rendered unsatisfactory service and had let the New Colonial Hotel fall into disrepair. Under the new contract the government would take over the hotel if service did not improve.

The government ensured that adequate and attractive facilities were available concentrating developments in the capital, mainly downtown Nassau. Sporting activities such as lawn tennis flourished by 1929. Frequent tournaments were held at the hotels or the Nassau Lawn Tennis Club. Golf links were built at Fort Charlotte and the Bahamas Country Club at Cable Beach. International golfers visited Nassau to participate in such tournaments as the British Colonial Open, which offered \$ 5000 in prizes in 1935. In that year Nassau established itself firmly on the southern golfing circuit.<sup>2</sup> Other activities were fishing, and duck and wild pigeon shooting. Big game fishing flourished at Bimini and Cat Cay, and like the mid-1930s Lyford Cay, through the efforts of Harold G. Christie, had also become known for the sport.<sup>3</sup>

Sea-bathing on the white coral sand beach at Hog Island was also a popular pastime.<sup>4</sup> Funds were allocated to establish a "bathing beach" (for tourists only) on crown land opposite the New Colonial Hotel, while Fort Charlotte was restored and its grounds cleared for sight-seeing. Guides outfitted in costumes of the 1790 Aeneid period gave tours. A pamphlet, *Historic Forts of Nassau* written by Harcourt Malcolm, speaker of the Assembly and local historian, was sold there at one shilling. Profits from this sale and admission charge of two shillings were to be used for further restoration of historic monuments.<sup>5</sup>

Other tourist attractions included the white dominated horse racing and horse riding. Early in the decade an improved track for horse racing was built at the Montagu Park Race Course, also known as Hobby Horse Hall, located behind Cable Beach. The first races were held in January 1934, initiating a sport which was to become increasingly popular among ordinary Bahamians as well as well-heeled tourists.

In 1934, promoted mainly by Roland T. Symonette, Commodore of the Nassau Yacht Club (which he had founded in 1931), the Miami-Nassau Ocean Race and the Spring Championship Races of the International Star Class Yacht Racing Association were inaugurated in Nassau.

Another attraction was the Williamson Photosphere. John E. Williamson, the pioneer of undersea photography, supported by the government, in 1939 developed the unique Seafloor Post Office located in the Photo



sphere. Visitors bought specially produced stamps and observed the "wonders of the deep" in the clear Bahamian waters.<sup>6</sup>

Some of the foreign elite were lured by the exclusive Porcupine Club on Hog Island, the posh Bahamian Club on West Bay Street and others such as the Cat Cay and Bimini Rod and Gun Clubs. The Bahamian Club, which opened in 1920, was the first gambling facility in the Bahamas; its American owner, C.F. Reed, was granted permission to operate roulette tables. However, during the season, it was generally used by American and Canadian visitors to entertain their friends at dinner and supper. Many of the local elite were honorary members but they hardly ever patronized it.<sup>7</sup>

The infrastructure was greatly improved during the 1920s and 1930s from profits of the sale of alcohol. Wealth was expended mainly in financing sorely needed public works, communications, and making Nassau more attractive to tourists and investors. Water, telephone, and electricity supplies were improved and expanded. There was limited telephone service to the Out Islands but the wireless telegraph system was extended. A new electricity power plant and cold storage plant were installed in 1922.<sup>8</sup> By the end of the 1920s there was a modern pipe-borne water supply and sewerage system. To facilitate shipping Nassau's harbor was dredged and deepened and a concrete wharf was constructed just north of Rawson Square. A warehouse and customs shed were also built to accommodate passengers. A new pier was constructed at Clifton, south-west New Providence, where ships could unload passengers and cargo during stormy weather which occasionally made Nassau harbor dangerously rough.

The once quiet streets were changing as the number of cars imported increased from six in 1918 to 297 in 1922. Thereafter, it continued to increase steadily. Ownership of a car became a status symbol and the Sunday drive the favorite pastime of the white and colored elite. This growth in the number of cars, complaints about speeding and reckless driving, and the rise in traffic accidents stimulated public criticism and the need for more traffic regulations.<sup>9</sup>

In order to cope with the increasing motor traffic in Nassau, the road system was extended and tarred by 1928. This was in contrast to the Out Islands which, with the exception of Eleuthera, had very few roads which were suitable for wheeled traffic. Some, such as the *Nassau Guardian's* editor, Mary Moseley, disliked the "oiled" streets and bemoaned the new process, expressing her fondness for "white" Bay Street.<sup>10</sup>

International communications were improved and by the end of the decade the Munson Line conducted a weekly winter passenger and freight service and a fortnightly summer service to and from New York. There were other services from Halifax, Canada, Bermuda, Jamaica, British

Honduras, and England via Bermuda. There were also frequent sailings from Miami to Nassau, but perhaps the most important development was the introduction of a daily air service by Pan American Airways. On January 2, 1929, a seaplane carrying twenty-four passengers began a regular winter service between Miami and Nassau (Moseley 1926:35; Hughes 1981:253). In the summer an eight-passenger aircraft serviced the island once or twice a week (Cash 1979:210). In addition a direct telephone link between Nassau, New York, and Canada was instituted, primarily to allow tourists and especially businessmen to keep in touch with their financial interests.

Nassau had gained a reputation not only as a tourist destination but also as a seasonal resort for the wealthy, some of whom made their homes there during the winter months. It was also during the 1930s that the Bahamas first became known internationally as a tax haven, attracting foreign investment, not only in the capital, but also on several of the Out Islands. Owing to its loose tax structure – there were no income, profits, capital gains, nor real estate taxes, many investors were drawn to Nassau to escape taxation in North America and Britain (Thompson 1979:30). By the mid-1930s Nassau was well established as a resort, owing to its unrivaled winter climate, yachting, “old-world atmosphere” and the government’s aggressive policy towards “selling” the Bahamas. The Development Board, financed by the government and chaired by R.H. Curry, the leading steam-ship agent with vested interest, spent thousands of pounds in advertisements to attract wealthy Americans and Canadians.

### THE EFFECTS OF TOURISM

The vigorous measures adopted by the Development Board to improve transportation and communication between the United States and the Bahamas and to develop other amenities, brought increasing numbers of tourists to Nassau. Whereas 10,295 tourists had visited during the 1922-1923 season, over 25,000 stopped at Nassau between December 1934 and March 1935 and 57,394 in 1938.<sup>11</sup> Revenues were boosted and much wealth accrued mainly to the white Nassau mercantile elite and foreign investors.

Economically, there were benefits but because of the nature of the Bahamian (indeed the Caribbean) economy, tourism had only a limited impact. The orientation towards the export market and the domination of foreign ownership inhibited the development of linkages between all sectors of the domestic economy. This was particularly pertinent in the

Bahamas. There the service sectors, tourism, and financial services became the dominant activities with negligible development of secondary production and few linkages between any of the economic sectors (Higgins 1994:8). Additionally, the absence of direct taxation and dependence on import duties led to an underfinanced treasury in contrast to "tremendously wealthy private empires" (Lewis 1968:320).

The Bahamas benefitted from the Florida land boom in the 1920s and 1930s. American tourists, many of whom were investors, bought estates and cays, built homes, and laid out developments on Hog Island and New Providence. With land changing hands at an unprecedented rate, its value increased enormously especially on New Providence, although much land on the Out Islands was also leased or purchased. Bahamian realtors, led by Harold Christie, sold thousands of acres of land to foreigners. This was facilitated by local conditions such as poverty and shortage of money, local ignorance of the value of beach front properties, confused titles, and the inefficiency at the Surveyor General's Department and Registry (Saunders 1985:257; Craton & Saunders, forthcoming). The Colonial Administration's ambivalence towards such rapid development perhaps hampered some sales. Governor Cordeaux expressed his fear and almost paranoia of Americanization and his reluctance to sell or lease so much Crown Land:

I don't like the idea of parting, though its difficult to refuse genuine development schemes. Americans are buying every available inch of private land in New Providence and paying enormous prices for it - and there will soon be nothing British left except the flag!<sup>12</sup>

In the 1930s many palatial homes were built by expatriate residents. Among them were financier and banker Sir Herbert Holt and Lady Holt of Montreal, who began regularly visiting the Bahamas in 1935, financier Sir Frederick Williams-Taylor and his wife, also originally of Montreal but recently settled in London, British aeroplane manufacturer Frederick Sigrist<sup>13</sup> from Berkshire, England, and Harry Oakes and his family who had several residences. They lavishly entertained each other and the local elite. In 1935 Nassau was described as "the social center of the south" where "the society set of Palm Beach and other Florida resorts mingled with the fashionable colony here in a gay whirl of parties" sometimes prompted by royal visitors (Saunders 1985:340).<sup>14</sup>

More modest land developments were also taking place to accommodate blacks and coloreds, some of whom had recently migrated from the Out Islands. The developers were mainly foreign<sup>15</sup> with some outstanding local entrepreneurs like L. Walton Young who developed areas in

southern New Providence, like his foreign counterparts, away from the increasingly pristine tourist center of Nassau (Saunders 1985:259).

There was uneven development in the Bahamas. While Nassau experienced rapid development, the Out Islands, where the majority of people lived, were generally neglected. *Tribune* editor Etienne Dupuch commented in 1924, "we have almost bankrupted the Treasury to build a hotel, a golf course and provide a steamship line while the people of the Out Islands starve."<sup>16</sup> This situation, aggravated by tightened US immigration restrictions after 1924 and a series of severe hurricanes in the late 1920s and early 1930s, accelerated migration of Out Islanders into Nassau. Between 1921 and 1931, New Providence's population increased by 6,781, or 52 percent. In 1921 less than a quarter of the total population lived in New Providence. Ten years later, the proportion had risen to a third.<sup>17</sup>

This migration to the capital created new socio-economic problems. Most of the newcomers were unskilled and therefore unable to find steady employment.<sup>18</sup> The tourist industry brought in more money and should have created new jobs and training skills for Bahamian laborers, but did not because of management's discriminatory policy. The majority of people derived only a "small share of profit" from tourism as the hotels and foreign residents imported most of their staff.<sup>19</sup>

Etienne Dupuch argued that the New Colonial, far from creating jobs, gave rise to competition. After much protest from cab drivers and boatmen, the hotel-sponsored transportation for guests to the golf-course and the Hog Island Beach ceased and locals were hired. Bahamian bellboys were not employed until 1925.<sup>20</sup>

Governor Charles Dundas tried to rectify this situation by opening the Dundas Civic Center, supplied by public subscription, to train blacks as cooks, waiters, and domestic servants. This way they would be qualified for the lowest paid jobs which were available to blacks and coloreds and at which they might be capable (Saunders 1985:340; Bethel & Bethel 1991:64). The Montagu Hotel hired graduates of the Center for the 1932-33 season to work as bartenders and Bahamian workers were supplied to wealthy whites homes as well. Managerial positions continued to be filled by foreigners. Bahamian laborers also suffered from the high cost of living in Nassau. Jobs became scarcer towards the end of the decade and wages were reduced but the cost of living remained high. Nassau was generally accepted as one of the most expensive places in the world. The combination of rich American tourists, prosperous bootleggers and real estate developers inflated the cost of living and made it difficult for British

officials and Wesleyan ministers to maintain a satisfactory standard of living in Nassau (Saunders 1985:269).<sup>21</sup>

House rents for foreign residents were three times as expensive as those in Trinidad. And it was much more for the majority of the laboring class and migrants. In 1938, unskilled laborers earned 2 to 4 shillings a day, while those with skills were paid between 4 and 20 shillings a day. Cooks and housemaids received 10-20 shillings a week for working about ten hours a day.<sup>22</sup> A laborer spent about 4 shillings a week on rent and 9 pence a day for his food. Food prices were especially high because of the decline in agriculture and the dependency on imports. Native-grown fruits and vegetables were scarce and expensive. Governor Dundas complained that there were "not a few who now regard life as a cultivator beneath their dignity."<sup>23</sup>

Laborers in the tourism industry suffered even more because of its seasonal nature. Many worked only three to four months of the year. Even in the winter when more job opportunities became available, wages remained dangerously low and the black population barely survived. This demoralizing situation, tightening discriminatory policies, and the transfer of other American values resulted in increased social problems such as vagrancy and crime.

In July 1935, when businessman and politician Roland Symonette was building the Prince George Hotel 300 to 400 men sought employment. A near riot broke out when they realized that most of them would not be hired. Later that year 800 unemployed men turned to Fort Charlotte for forty available jobs. Unable to find work, many unashamedly took to begging, loitering, arson, and theft. In the late summer of 1937, the Nassau and Montagu Theaters both of which practised segregation mysteriously burnt down. By July 1938, Governor Dundas admitted that there was "a Nassau mob of about 1000 persons" consisting of "young loafers, criminals and riff raff of that type."<sup>24</sup>

In short, despite the growing optimism brought by the development of tourism, there were great social disparities within Bahamian society. The growing restlessness, present in the Caribbean generally during the 1930s, culminated in riots and strikes. The Nassau riot of 1942, unlike those in the rest of the Caribbean, did not result in any immediate change in social conditions for the masses.

Despite the great advances in the health and material conditions in down-town Nassau, sanitary and health conditions for the majority of the population remained dismal until the 1960s. Major improvements of potable water and sewerage excluded Grant's Town and Bain Town in the south, where the black majority resided. The House of Assembly, which at

first had rejected the request of the Governor that a sanitary expert from England be employed, reversed its decision only after a number of American visitors became ill with typhoid fever.<sup>25</sup>

Sir Wilfred Beveridge, an eminent doctor and later one of the leaders of the Labour Party's great social reforms in Britain following World War II, praised Nassau's new water-works and sewerage system then under construction. However, he deplored their limited extension and revealed the extremely unhygienic conditions of the Eastern and Pond Districts, Grant's Town, and Bain Town. He was also shocked by the conditions in the hospital, the prevalence of tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and neonatal tetanus, and horrified by public indifference, ignorance, and poverty which led to substandard housing and overcrowding. These suburbs, not too far from central Nassau, suffered from congestion, flooding, uncollected garbage in which pigs, dogs, and fowls rooted, and also open privies polluting both wells and cooking areas (Beveridge 1927:48; Saunders 1985:262).

Up to 1951 conditions virtually did not change. S.E.V. Luke, of the Colonial Office wrote

Behind Nassau's picturesque old-world streets and the princely mansions along the East and West shores are slums as bad as any West Indian Colony, and far worse than anything Bermuda can show.

He added that "it is disgraceful that conditions should exist in so rich an island." Indeed over 71 percent of New Providence housing still had no running water in 1953.<sup>26</sup>

Tourism and foreign investment especially affected the white elite Nassauvians, although the middle class also subtly became Americanized. Frank Taylor's (1973:216) comment on the Jamaican situation, "Along with the American tourist there had also come the American film, Hollywood values, and apparently Hollywood 'vulgarity'" was also true for the Bahamas. A letter writer to the *Tribune* in March 1930 complained about the loudness, drinking, and vulgar dancing by some staff of the New Colonial Hotel who were waiting to embark on the *Munargo*. The writer was shocked:

What an example for our girls to see stockingless painted half-drunken dissipated young men and women displaying to all around how far they have fallen into a state of utter depravity and disgrace.<sup>27</sup>

Undoubtedly such behavior, films, and the radio, which became popular in Nassau during the thirties, had a profound effect on a section of the

population. Another letter to the *Tribune* at the time, although perhaps exaggerating, stated that Nassau, under the influence of American culture, was going mad. The writer said young people of Nassau were frivolous, "dancing, drinking and living a sporting life, in and out of season."<sup>28</sup>

Besides keeping up with the most popular American dances, the white and colored elite were exposed to American foods and fashion. Preoccupation with materialism was growing and American imports also influenced dress codes. Styles became more casual and dresses were shortened from just above the ankle, usually to mid-calf length. Slacks were worn in the late thirties and make-up, although by no means universal, became more common. Men's styles also became less formal. Often, shirts with neckties were worn instead of the customary three piece dark tailored suit. As the search for the sun became a major force in the tourist industry bathing attire for both sexes became briefer (exposing the flesh) but was still modest.<sup>29</sup>

Drinking by both men and women had become an acceptable custom and an integral part of Bahamian society during the 1930s. Liquor interests increased after Prohibition and it became more accessible and inexpensive. Tourism, which attracted "the fun-loving heavy drinking" visitors and made liquor so accessible, had a profound impact on Bahamian drinking habits and the growth of alcoholism. Prostitution, which was prevalent in Nassau since the early twentieth century, worsened as "dance halls" and the sale of liquor increased. Prostitutes also frequented the wharves (Dean-Patterson 1978:37).<sup>30</sup>

Some persons at the time held reservations about the effects of the tourist industry. Alan Burns (1944:84), Colonial Secretary in the Bahamas during the mid- to late 1920s, expressed some scepticism.

It was a glorious playground, but a very expensive place. The tourists poured money into the colony, but the people, both white and coloured, gave a great deal of their character in exchange for it.

Prohibition and the development of the tourist industry had a profound effect on race and class relations. The white mercantile elite profited most from the tourist industry. This class traditionally included families such as the Malcolms, Duncombes, Adderleys, and Moseleys. However, during the bonanza years of the 1920s it was expanded to include the *nouveau riche* group headed by Roland T. Symonette, Frank and Harold Christie, and Walter K. Moore, all from poor backgrounds. Prohibition had brought quick money and provided the "financial foundation of their status as the social and political ruling class of the island" (Lewis 1968:311).

Money whitened. Roland Symonette, for example, a poor, light-skinned seaman from Current settlement, Eleuthera, actually participated in boot-legging and rose to a position of wealth and power in the mid-1920s. He, like the white mercantile elite generally, consolidated his position in legitimate enterprises and election to the House of Assembly. In less than a generation the white community accepted him and his family. Wealth attracted power and authority, and racial differences were linked to economic relationships. Now race became even more important in determining social status (Hughes 1981:22; Saunders 1987:448-65; Saunders 1994a:1-17 and 1994b:7).

The white mercantile elite controlled not only the strategic business enterprises but also the political machinery. The growing strength of *nouveau riche* politicians, united with the influential older elite, benefitting from corrupt election practices, made it increasingly difficult for coloreds and blacks to win seats. Politically the latter lost ground in the House of Assembly after 1935. Governor Dundas admitted in 1938, "the corrupt practices of electioneering in this colony are notorious and not disputed by anyone."<sup>31</sup> The secret ballot was not introduced to the Out Islands and permanently adopted in New Providence until 1946.

The gap between rich and poor and white and black widened in Nassau. "The merchants of Bay Street ... saw to it that everything should be done to attract visitors who would spend money in their shops" (Burns 1949:84). As a result, they restricted not only non-white participation but also legislatively controlled the immigrant minorities of Lebanese, Jews, Chinese, and Greeks (Johnson 1991:125-48). Foreigners, wishing to invest in the mid to late 1930s, usually first approached lawyer A.K. Solomon, and after 1935, Stafford L. Sands, his brash and brilliant nephew. Harold G. Christie then provided suitable land and Roland T. Symonette, who was in the shipbuilding and construction business, helped to develop it. They also benefitted from their interests in other lucrative enterprises such as the grocery, wholesale, and liquor businesses. They, along with the Bethells, Kellys, and Roberts, controlled the socio-economic and political life of the colony (Saunders 1985:352-53).

Some Bahamians were critical of the ruling elite's concentration on tourists and money-making to the detriment of locals. An anonymous writer in protest against another road diversion wrote:

I can only come to the conclusion that we really need a thorough change among our so-called leaders today. They have sold Sunday for the almighty dollar; they have sold themselves for a mess of pottage and now they are trying to sell the last and only privilege that Bahamians have and



pride, our walks along the waterfront. I wonder sometimes they don't ask ourselves to lock up ourselves in our homes at certain hours of the day so that tourists can have the rights and privileges of the tourists for themselves (cited in Cash, Gordon & Saunders 1991:285).<sup>32</sup>

A small white middle class including teachers, civil servants and shop assistants, which was emerging after Prohibition, emulated the white *nouveau riche*. Not many young and ambitious white Bahamians wished to pursue further education and qualify professionally, except in the legal field. Commercial prosperity lured them into shopkeeping and other commercial enterprises. While wealth created a division among the Nassau whites, their color and small numbers united them as a social group. Although they did not usually socialize, they assisted each other by finding positions or Civil Service jobs for white youngsters.

Colored and black businessmen on or near Bay Street, many of whom had also benefitted from Prohibition, pitted against wealthy white competition were pushed off of Bay Street in the 1930s. Those whose businesses survived the depression underwent little expansion. Some coloreds, such as the DeGregorys and a number of upwardly mobile blacks, many of them originally from the Out Islands, like Herbert and Eugene Heastie, Edgar Bain, and Ulrich Mortimer managed to keep their businesses going. Many established businesses over the hill (Saunders 1985:359).

The majority of coloreds and upwardly mobile blacks, barred from holding jobs on Bay Street, turned to education for salvation. Fortunate pupils attended the Government High School, the first public secondary school established in Nassau in 1925. Others were able to attend schools abroad, particularly in the United States, England, and the Angolophone Caribbean. Non-whites were increasingly employed in clerical level posts within the Civil Service and also as teachers (Saunders 1985:260, 279).

As in the Caribbean generally, the tourist industry made the racial situation worse. In the Bahamas, however, racial discrimination was more severe than in the other Caribbean colonies. The substantial white population (representing at least 10 percent of the population) and long historical ties with the southern United States led to antagonistic race relations. With the advent of Americans such as Frank Munson – who Dupuch described as a “visciously prejudiced man”<sup>33</sup> – came the Jim Crow attitudes. Discrimination was practised in public places and whites segregated themselves socially from blacks and coloreds, seeking to educate their children separately. The color bar at Queen's College was rigorously upheld until the 1950s. Similarly, whites segregated themselves in seating patterns in church and in some cases kept separate Sunday

schools and even insisted on being buried in separate graveyards (Cash, Gordon & Saunders 1991:50-51, 144, 278-79). In the mid-1930s, a Methodist Minister commented that in no other part of the West Indies the color situation was so sad and the racial bitterness so deep as in the Bahamas.<sup>34</sup>

As Frank Taylor (1973:213) demonstrates, racism was "historically a built in feature of West Indian tradition of hospitality." The development of and growing dependency on tourism and American investment during the 1920s and 1930s hardened the already existing color line in the Bahamas. Like Jamaica and Barbados, the Bahamas suffered from discrimination in most tourist related facilities, "a mere reflection of practices current within the society as a whole." The flow of American visitors, money, and ideas in the 1920s and 1930s reinforced and extended racial segregation. American and British investors and land developers bought large tracts of land in the western area including Westward Villas and the Grove Estate, also known as Vista Marina. Sales of properties were aimed at wealthy Americans and the Nassau elite. Even if coloreds or blacks could afford to purchase lots, they were specifically banned by restrictive covenants (Saunders 1985:258).<sup>35</sup> Similar developments occurred east of the town and included Shirley Slope and Buen Retiro. Additionally, as in Jamaica the best beaches were reserved and, using public funds, were condoned off for the exclusive use of tourists (Taylor 1973:213-14; Saunders 1985:328).

The system of segregation was supported not only by the local elite but also by the Governor at the time. Etienne Dupuch (1967:76-77) wrote later that Sir Bede Clifford "felt that the tourist industry called for an 'all white' policy." Although he "succeeded in stemming the downward economic trend ... he did not realize the serious blow he had dealt to human relations in the colony."

Of course, the blatant discrimination did not go unnoticed. Three local black orchestra conductors, Bert Cambridge, Noel Maellet, and Leonard White, complained that local orchestras and bands were considered good enough for local functions, but not for elite gatherings.<sup>36</sup> The hotels and clubs hired American bands during the tourist season in Nassau. If colored and black musicians wished to hear a foreign orchestra, they had to seek special permission to enter the outside premises and listen at the windows.<sup>37</sup>

Bootlegging, followed by the development of tourism, changed social values and widened the gap not only between races, but also classes. The new wealth created a cleavage not only between whites but also between non-whites. It exacerbated the already ingrained self-hatred and inferiority complex held by non-whites. As in the Caribbean generally, the divisive

element within the colored and black middle class tended to "perpetuate [rather] than to eliminate colour prejudice" (Olivier 1929:38-39; Lowenthal 1972:72).

Some colored businesses also practised discrimination. Black's Candy Kitchen, for example, catered to all races but only whites or fair-skinned coloreds were allowed into its sit-down section (Saunders 1987:457). Some ambitious Nassau families, realizing the great advantages being offered to whites, gradually abandoned their colored and black acquaintances and "passed" for white. Association with whites and marriage to someone of European origin eventually led to acceptance by the white elite (Saunders 1985:358).<sup>38</sup>

Tourism's growth also stimulated the development and commercialization of local black entertainment and indigenous crafts. Catering to visitors and locals alike, the nightclubs, which became popular in the 1930s, also encouraged social drinking and prostitution. Two outstanding nightclubs, The Silver Slipper and The Zanzibar were built in Grant's Town in the 1930s. The former was foreign owned, while the Zanzibar was co-owned by black entrepreneurs Milo Butler, Bert Gibson, Preston Moss, and Felix Johnson who catered to a varied clientele. Patrons attended in parties, usually fraternizing only with those at their own tables. The groups thus segregated their seating. Local black orchestras usually played at the clubs and "native" floorshows were performed to please the tourists (Saunders 1985:330-31).

Indigenous culture was also "packaged" for tourists. The Bahamian Goombay was popularized internationally by a member of the white elite, Charles Lofthouse. Black song writers and musicians, such as Alphonso "Blind Blake" Higgs and George Symonette, also gained limited local recognition. Other less well-known entertainers were Phillip Brice from Fox Hill, "Cowboy," and "Shorty the Serenader" who sauntered down Bay Street singing and playing for American visitors, especially when cruise ships were in port (Burns 1949:84; Saunders 1985:333).

Additionally, tourists and winter residents, with stereotyped ideas about the "docility, ... manners, superstitious, idiosyncracies, and modes of thought" about the "natives" visited black settlements where they watched indigenous African-inspired dances and witnessed the "Holy Rollers" at their prayer meetings, "rolling more enthusiastically at the thought of the collection they would take up from the rich visitors." Similarly young black boys dived for coins on the docks, much to the amusement of tourists (Malone & Roberts 1991:42; Dahl 1995:64-65).

Tourism also had a profound effect on the development of straw work, an ancient Bahamian craft. The straw market proper started in the mid-1930s, behind the Prince George's Wharf.

## CONCLUSION

Downtown Nassau, in contrast to the black suburbs and Out Islands, changed significantly during the 1920s and 1930s. In order to please visitors, the infrastructure of the city was vastly improved and touristic and business facilities were constructed in the "quaint and bustling" Bay Street area. By the end of the 1930s, Nassau boasted several hotels, two modern theaters, and many posh shops selling a variety of European and American goods which especially appealed to the tourists.

The growth of tourism during this period boosted revenues and generated jobs and wage labor for the New Providence workers. However, the greater wealth was domiciled in Nassau and more specifically in the hands of a small mercantile elite which controlled the socio-economic and political life. The black majority lived in poverty in a society in which social problems such as crime and vagrancy were increasing.

Modern tourism in the Bahamas and in the Caribbean is built on the foundation of the earlier development, but is very different from that in the 1920s and 1930s. Whereas the tourist industry then was seasonal and catered to the happy few, today the Bahamas and the Caribbean cater to large numbers of tourists.

In 1994 of the 13.7 million Caribbean tourists about 3.5 million visited the Bahamas (Pattullo 1996:11). The change from elite tourism to mass tourism means that the Bahamas, a "mature" destination, struggles to compete with the rest of the Caribbean which has embraced tourism in the light of declining staple industries such as sugar, oil, and agriculture.

Factors which have radically changed Caribbean tourism since the 1920s and 1930s are the introduction of big hotel chains, large-scale gambling, and the cruise ship industry which is largely owned and controlled from outside the region. Expanding tremendously since the early 1980s, the cruise ship industry especially has outstripped land-based tourism. However, while cruise ships bring in enormous numbers of tourists, there are questionable benefits to the Caribbean and its people and its long term effect on the region's land-based tourism (Pattullo 1996:157-59).

As Pattullo further demonstrated, competition between hotels and cruise ships is real. While hotels provide jobs for locals, cruise ships which operate in the Caribbean are free to employ who they wish. Most cruise ships

are supplied by U.S. companies, not Caribbean ones. Moreover, cruise ships are polluting Caribbean waters and endangering the environment, and because they supply their passengers with most amenities it has been argued that little is left to spend in ports of call (Pattullo 1996:161-65).

Tourism has also had a profound impact on indigenous culture in the Caribbean – its lifestyle, food, music, dress, architecture, and celebrations. The people of the Caribbean have imitated Americans and their ways and have subtly been Americanized.

While Carnival in Trinidad has retained its own identity, it has changed over the years as it has been influenced by tourism. In the Bahamas, Junkanoo, a Christmas festival, which portrayed modest costumes of sack-ing, sponge, and newspaper in the 1920s and 1930s, now display elaborate costumes of cardboard, styrofoam, and colored crepe paper with groups hundreds-strong with drums, cowbells, and trumpets and large brass sections. Although tourists are almost entirely excluded from participating in Junkanoo, the spectator role of tourist, at least in the earlier years, has been "crucial to the survival of Junkanoo" (Wood 1995:487-92; Pattullo 1996:187).

Additionally, economic benefits from tourism indirectly assist sponsors in getting large groups into the parade. Tourism created a dependency syndrome which was damaging socially, culturally, and psychologically. Felix Bethel (1989:135) argues that "[i]t is clearly the case that as a result of tourism the Bahamas is chronically dependent" and not only economically. Such a state of dependency has had a pervasive effect on its population and economic growth (Demas 1976:56-59). Indeed Gordon Lewis (1968:321, 327) argued that "[t]his dependency on the wealthy United States tourist traffic, fundamentally parasitic, has incalculable consequences for the Bermudian-Bahamian [Caribbean] way of life. It has made of the ruling groups paranoid tourist-worshippers." He further commented that life for the black majority was "a grim struggle for existence in a deceptively idyllic Eden."

Lingering poverty and the inequities in Caribbean societies along with tourism have led to an increase in crime and drug-addiction. No real solutions have been found by Caribbean governments to combat these deep-rooted social problems. Some local tourists leaders, who believe that unabated crime will destroy the tourist industry, have responded by creating all-inclusive resorts which are cordoned off from the society and have tight security.

Changes introduced after the "Quiet Revolution" in 1967 with its emphasis on the improvement of education and social services raised the standard of living for the black majority and led to the upward mobility of

a large percentage of blacks. Despite this, the white mercantile elite has continued as the prominent beneficiaries of tourism, a "monoculture." Blacks in the Bahamas, as in the Caribbean generally, continue to occupy mainly servile positions in the tourism industry, catering mostly to a white clientele in an "intrinsically ... neo-plantation enterprise."<sup>39</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Public Record Office (PRO), Colonial Office (CO) 23/246/57, Haynes Smith to Chamberlain, February 23, 1897.
2. *Nassau Magazine* 2(2) February 1935, pp. 12-13, 24.
3. *Tribune*, February 7, 1933; February 22 and March 5, 1937.
4. PRO, CO 23/291/340-345, Grant to Devonshire, October 28, 1922; Aspinall 1923:253-54.
5. PRO, CO 23/463, Clifford to Conliffe-Lister, December 30, 1932
6. *Nassau Magazine* 2(2) February 1940, pp. 8-9.
7. PRO, CO 23/289/311-312, Cordeaux to Churchill, December 23, 1921, Conf.
8. See *Nassau Guardian*, September 30, 1922; PRO, CO 23/405, CO 23/454, *Colonial Annual Reports Bahamas*, 1928, 1931. Encl.; *Tribune*, June 17, 1925. In 1928 in Nassau there were 1000 subscribers which increased to 1,150 by 1931. Eleuthera by that year had 65 miles of telephone lines; Cat Island 30 miles, Long Island 45, connecting the major settlements.
9. *Nassau Guardian*, February 3, 1923; December 29, 1926; *Tribune*, April 15 and September 23, 1923; July 17, 1926; January 11, 1927. New traffic rules were introduced early in 1927.
10. *Nassau Guardian*, August 20, 1921. See also PRO, CO 23/454, *Colonial Annual Reports Bahamas*, 1931, Encl.
11. *Tribune*, March 19, 1934; *Votes of the House of Assembly*, 21 November 1935-1 June, 1936, Appendix A, Nassau: Nassau Guardian, 1936, p. 224; *Colonial Annual Report*, 1938, London: H.M.S.O., 1939, p. 18.
12. PRO, CO 23/296, Cordeaux to Darnley, August 8, 1925, private.
13. Sigrist was a founding member of the Hawker Aircraft Company which manufactured the Hurricane, the single-seater fighter plane designed by Sidney Camm, and utilized so successfully in World War II.
14. See also *Nassau Magazine* 2(4) April 1935, p. 22.
15. For example, Captain J.S. Engler of Miami, developer of Engler's Public Market in Miami, hoped to lure many Bahamian residents in Miami back to the Bahamas and subdivided "Nassau's Master Suburb" naming it Englerston.
16. *Tribune*, January 23, 1924.
17. *Report on the Census of the Bahama Islands*, taken April 26, 1931.

18. PRO, *Colonial Annual Reports Bahamas*, 1928
19. *Nassau Guardian*, February 3, 1923.
20. *Nassau Guardian*, February 21, 1925; *Tribune*, February 13, 1924.
21. PRO, CO 23/296, see Cordeaux to Amery, June 11, 1925, Conf.
22. *Colonial Annual Report*, 1938, p. 19.
23. PRO, CO 23/415, Dundas to Passfield, September 20, 1929.
24. PRO, CO 23/653, Dundas to Parkinson, July 11, 1938, Conf. See also *Tribune*, September 5, 27 and 30, 1937.
25. PRO, CO 23/347, Annual Medical and Sanitary Report, 1926-1927, Encl.
26. *Report on the Census of the Bahamas Islands*, December 6, 1953, Nassau: Nassau Guardian, 1954.
27. *Tribune*, March 12, 1930.
28. *Tribune*, October 4, 1933.
29. *Tribune*, September 9, 1931; *Nassau Magazine* 3(3) February, 1936, 3(3) p. 15; Walvin 1995:16.
30. See also *Report of the Commission on Venereal Diseases*, Nassau: Nassau Guardian, 1918, p. 23.
31. PRO, CO 23/653, Dundas to McDonald, July 11, 1938, conf.; Saunders 1985:232.
32. See also *Tribune*, January 6, 1938.
33. *Tribune*, December 16, 1983.
34. Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Letters, Johnson to Burns, April 8, 1936.
35. See for example, Registrar General's Department, Nassau Bahamas Conveyance, June 5, 1937 between Guy Robert Brooke Baxter and Vendor and the Baster Estate Ltd., clause 14: "no lot or any part thereof or any interest therein in the Vista Marina Subdivision of the GROVE Estate shall be sold, leased or otherwise conveyed to any person other than a full-blooded member of the Caucasian race."
36. *Tribune*, January 13, 1934.
37. Interview with Maxwell Thompson, January 17, 1984.
38. See also interview with Basil and Audrey North, August 10, 1984.
39. Hughes 1981:10; Bethel 1989:99-138; Barry, Wood & Preusch 1984:87; Taylor 1993:175.

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## THE NAMING OF HAITI

When the first modern black state declared its independence on January 1, 1804, it adopted an Amerindian name, though its population was overwhelmingly African and Afro-American, and it had been ruled by Europeans for three centuries. The renaming of French Saint Domingue as "Haïti" remains the only case of a Caribbean colony undergoing a radical change of name on achieving independence.<sup>1</sup> Apparently meaning "rugged, mountainous" in the Taino Arawak language, the word was assumed to be the aboriginal term for the island Columbus christened "La Española."<sup>2</sup> The choice of name raises interesting questions about ethnicity and identity, and historical knowledge in the Caribbean, yet the circumstances surrounding its selection have gone entirely unrecorded. Haiti's earliest historians, Vastey (1969:44) and Madiou (1987-89, III:140-52), were able to reveal little on the matter. Modern historians have found almost nothing new to add (Fouchard 1984b:13-17).

Having fought an extremely bitter war to expel French colonists and British and Spanish invaders (1791-1803), Haiti's victorious ex-slaves and mixed-race elite evidently wished to emphasize symbolically their break with Europe. After completing the massacre of the remaining colonists in April 1804, head of state Jean-Jacques Dessalines proclaimed that no European would ever again be a proprietor in Haiti, and declared enigmatically "I have avenged America!"<sup>3</sup> There are few clues, however, as to how the decision was made in Dessalines's entourage of black and colored generals to anchor the new state to an American and non-colonial past. Historian Thomas Madiou (1987-89, III:131) merely tells us that, when the last French troops left in December 1803,

People immediately thought about giving a new name to this land that formed the new state. On everyone's lips was the name of *Haiti*, a reminder of the island's native inhabitants, who had been wiped out defending their freedom. It received an enthusiastic welcome, and the local people called themselves *Haitiens*.<sup>4</sup>

One might wonder why a place-name that had scarcely been used for three centuries came so spontaneously and universally to mind in an almost entirely illiterate population that had had little leisure for investigating the past. Those accustomed to thinking of the Taino Arawak as helpless victims of genocide also might be surprised to find them symbolizing violent resistance for the first black Haitians. This article seeks to explore what the makers of Haitian independence might have known of those past victims of European imperialism whose patrimony they came to inherit.

#### HAITI AND AFRICA

First, it is not entirely surprising the founding fathers did not pick an African name for their state. Dolores Yonker (1989) points out that "ayi" is the word for "earth" in Fon, a language that has left a marked imprint on the lexicon of Haitian voodoo. However, her claim that this was the source of Dessalines's inspiration has little linguistic or historical basis. The "y" in the Fon word is usually a consonant; the "y" used interchangeably with "i" in the state's name is a vowel.<sup>5</sup> The state was not called "Hayiti"; nor "Ayi," of course. And at no time do Haitians ever seem to have believed their state to have an African name. Aja-Fon, furthermore, constituted no more than 15 percent of Saint Domingue's African slaves in the later eighteenth century. Though half or more of Haiti's population had been born in Africa, they spoke dozens of different languages, which rendered difficult the choice of an acceptable term.<sup>6</sup> A decision to name the country something like "Nouveau Kongo," building on nostalgia for a prestigious African state, the homeland of close to half the Africans in Saint Domingue, would have had little appeal for the other half of the African-born population, and probably would have been offensive to locally-born Haitians.<sup>7</sup>

Most important, few of Haiti's most prominent leaders were African. Though some hostile commentators identified Dessalines and other ex-slave leaders of the Haitian Revolution as African-born, they used the term indiscriminately as a pejorative.<sup>8</sup> African guerrilla leaders in the mountains – often called "Congos" – had played critical roles at different stages of

the Revolution, but their power had been broken by the Creole (i.e. locally-born) generals of the colonial army, who were backed, so Madiou claimed, by the Creole population of the plains. According to him, this had been a precondition for achieving national independence.<sup>9</sup>

Louis Boisrond-Tonnerre, who wrote the declaration of independence, was passionately anti-European but, Paris-educated, of mixed racial descent and several generations removed from slavery, he had little personal connection to Africa (Boisrond-Tonnerre 1981:viii-x). Dessalines entrusted him with writing the independence proclamation on December 31, after rejecting as too staid an earlier attempt by another French-educated mulatto, Charéron. Boisrond supposedly declared, "To draw up the act of independence we need the skin of a whiteman for parchment, his skull for an inkwell, his blood for ink, and a bayonet for a pen" (Madiou 1987-89, III:145). He sat up all night to work on the document. On the morning of January 1, 1804, before the proclamation was made public in the seaport of Gonaïves, a group of senior military officers met to swear support for independence and to name Dessalines head of state. "They were agreed," Joseph Saint-Rémy (1956, IV:5) tells us with tantalizing imprecision, "on giving back to the country its aboriginal name of 'Haïti'."<sup>10</sup> Of the thirty-seven officers who signed the declaration of independence, more than two-thirds were of mixed racial descent, and none was African (Madiou 1987-89, III:150).<sup>11</sup>

#### RACE AND COLOR

The Haitian Revolution had never been just a revolution of slaves, and with a near monopoly on literacy the former "free colored" minority of colonial times was disproportionately represented in the new state apparatus.<sup>12</sup> This was the milieu that had to validate, and very probably suggested, the new state's name. Spokesmen of this new ruling class tended to share European deprecation of African and African-derived culture (Nicholls 1979:11-12; Hurbon 1987:128-29). Voodoo was repressed; Christianity was the only religion recognized by the state.<sup>13</sup> Dessalines's courtiers danced minuets and gavottes, along with the local carabinier, but not the calenda or chicha. And no one seems to have suggested that Creole, the language of the masses, replace French, even though Dessalines himself did not speak it.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, Haitian spokesmen did assert that the racial identity of all Haitians was African, and this unifying emphasis on a shared racial heritage served to counteract mutually reinforcing divisions of class and

color (Nicholls 1979; Trouillot 1986:98-99). Léon-François Hoffmann (1994:30-33) observes that mixed-race Haitians seem very rarely to have disowned their African ancestry by substituting a supposed Indian ancestry, as, he says, their Dominican neighbors have done.<sup>15</sup> A few sought to do so in court cases of the colonial period in order to be classified "white," just as others bogusly claimed pure European descent (Debbasch 1967:58-69; Bonniol 1992:101) but after the Revolution began, the opposite occurred: certain white allies of the black revolutionaries claimed to be of mixed racial descent.<sup>16</sup> The constitution of 1805 defined all Haitian citizens as "black" and banned the use of colonial terms denoting phenotype (Janvier 1886:32).

Nevertheless, appeals to "blackness" seem to have been rare during the Revolution. In a mixed-race, color-conscious population they were potentially divisive. In Paris in 1789 a group of free blacks seemingly excluded from the activities of "colored" activists had criticized the latter's "bastardized" origins while vaunting their own racial "purity" (Geggus 1989:1298-99).<sup>17</sup> Haitian ethnographer and statesman Jean Price Mars (1945:7-17) argued "sentiment de race" motivated revolutionary leader Toussaint Louverture, and that he wanted to make blackness a subject for pride. I would contend Toussaint fought to remove the stigma attached by Europeans to blackness by pointing out that race does not determine behavior, rather than by valorizing biological attributes.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, after Dessalines's assassination in 1806, the article defining Haitians as "black" was dropped from all subsequent constitutions.

#### HAITI AND THE TAINO

Amerindian symbolism provided a sort of neutral, non-European reference point for a diverse population, some of whose most influential figures had every reason to hate Europeans but who, in ancestry as well as culture, were much more European than African. Though light-skinned Haitians have rarely claimed Amerindian ancestry, it is generally they who have shown most interest in their country's Native American past. From the beginning of the Haitian Revolution mixed-race activists, but not their black counterparts, called themselves "Americans."<sup>19</sup> Dessalines adopted the name "Haïti," but it was the 1816 constitution of Alexandre Pétion, leader of the former free coloreds in the War of Independence (1802-1803), that admitted to Haitian citizenship all African and Amerindian migrants (Janvier 1886:117).<sup>20</sup> Whether or not the choice of an Amerindian name had especial appeal for Haitians of mixed racial descent, it surely

was valued by a ruling class that rejected both African culture and European rule and which was charting unknown terrain in a difficult search for national identity. There are strong reasons therefore for thinking the preponderant influence in the naming of Haiti came from members of the mixed-race elite and that part of the name's attraction was that it was neither European nor African.

Even so, if we believe Madiou's account, the name must at least have resonated with a large section of the population. But what can the mainly African ex-slaves have known of a world that collapsed at the time of Columbus? Some modern Haitian scholars such as Jean Fouchard (1972: 157-65) and Louis Elie (1944-45, I:201-08, II:258-59) have suggested Taino Arawaks or their descendants survived in numbers into the late colonial period (also Charles 1992:115-223). Along with others, like Jean Price Mars, godfather of the Indigenist movement, they have argued for a Taino cultural influence in Saint Domingue down to the Haitian Revolution (and beyond), claiming certain voodoo chants of the revolutionary period to be Arawak war chants. One chant was supposedly written by the ruler Anacaona executed in 1504.<sup>21</sup>

Price Mars's source for attributing a late colonial voodoo chant to the Taino was apparently the mid-nineteenth century work *Histoire des caciques d'Haïti* by Emile Nau. Nau, however, stated that this linking of the voodoo chant with the Taino was a fiction. It had been invented, he claimed, by courtiers of King Henry Christophe (1811-1820) to flatter the monarch, who liked hearing stories about his namesake, Enrique, a sixteenth-century Taino leader who fought against the Spanish (Nau 1963, II:67-68). Unknown to Nau, the chant was genuine, but of African origin; the proposed translation, "Death rather than slavery," was false and taken from an earlier French author.<sup>22</sup> The story thus provides further evidence that elite Haitians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have sometimes been attracted by Hispaniola's Arawak past, but it is not proof of Taino traditions continuing through the time of independence.

In more recent years, Hungarian ethnographer Maya Deren (1975:68-74) and other scholars have suggested a more encompassing Amerindian influence on Haitian voodoo.<sup>23</sup> Part of Deren's case rests on general similarities between African and Native American religions, which she acknowledged to be merely similarities rather than products of diffusion. Her argument is centered, however, on an outmoded understanding of voodoo's violent Petro cult as being an American rather than African creation. An ethnographically and historically more plausible interpretation of Petro sees it as related to the huge influx of Kongo slaves into Saint Domingue in the late eighteenth century (Janzen 1982:273-92; De

Heusch 1989:290-303; Geggus 1991:21-50). Many of its deities, its drumming, dances, and magical accoutrements seem related to the Congo region. Deren was clearly wrong to derive the Kongo words "zombi" and "Simbi" from the Arawak "zemi."<sup>24</sup> Even those who regard Petro as a New World creation, tend to see its violent features as a reaction to enslavement, rather than a product of Amerindian influence. The same can be said of voodoo's decentralized nature, which Deren also linked unconvincingly to the Arawak past. Finally, the inclusion of Taino axe-heads and figurines among the sacred objects of some voodoo temples does suggest an awareness among Haitians of the vanished Amerindians, but it is not evidence, as Louis Maximilien (1992:171-84) claimed, of Arawak influence on the formation of voodoo.<sup>25</sup> Voodoo has no counterpart to the Brazilian Candomblé Caboclo (Valente 1977:60-67; Bastide 1978:173-219).

Nothing is known for certain about the ex-slaves' knowledge of Native American culture. The sixteenth century no doubt saw some cultural transmission between the last survivors of the pre-Columbian population and the first generations of African slaves, though the two groups tended to live in separate locations. Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain (1937, I:xxiii-xxiv, II:275; 1992:155-57) stated in the 1930s that 10 percent of Haitian folktales were "clearly of Indian origin." However, she acknowledged the paucity of sources available to her concerning Caribbean Indians, and other folklorists have seemed less convinced (Courlander 1964:113). Moreover, while traditional foodways or fishing techniques may have been transmitted, directly or through European intermediaries, there seems less reason to think a redundant place-name would have been preserved among the enslaved blacks.<sup>26</sup> Above all, such Amerindian-African contact as occurred on sixteenth-century Hispaniola was likely to involve Indians other than the aboriginal Taino, who numbered fewer than one thousand by 1550, and only a few dozen in the 1560s, when the black population was estimated at between 12,000 and 25,000 (Andrews 1978:15). By that time, Hispaniola's colonists had imported, according to Carlos Deive (1995:11, 359, 367-68), tens of thousands of Indian slaves from all round the Caribbean, and also Mexico and Brazil. By the time the French began large-scale importations of black slaves in the late seventeenth century, the native Arawaks had been almost extinct for about one hundred years.<sup>27</sup>

Dominican ideologues have obviously exaggerated when they denied any Amerindian input into the creation of the Haitian people (Rodríguez-Demorizi 1955:50-52, 62). Early French censuses record small numbers of enslaved *sauvages* and *Indiens*, notably on the neglected south coast, though they were probably not descendants of the pre-Columbian



Taino.<sup>28</sup> Like the Spanish before them, the French enslaved other Amerindian peoples and brought them to the colony. It is true that in the pre-Columbian Caribbean use of the term "Aytí" was probably not confined to the Taino.<sup>29</sup> However, the few *Indiens* who appear in plantation inventories and colonial newspapers in the eighteenth century were likely to be Natchez and others deported from Louisiana, Canada, and South America, or Asian Indians shipped through Isle-de-France (modern Mauritius) (Peytraud 1897:27-29; Moreau de Saint-Méry 1958, I:83, 89, 94-95; Debbasch 1967:65, n.3).<sup>30</sup> By the 1780s, even with their mixed-race descendants (*mulâtres indiens*), they represented a small fraction of one percent of the slave population.<sup>31</sup>

#### BOYÁ AND ENRIQUE

Nevertheless, there were some Indians on Hispaniola in the eighteenth century who apparently did claim descent from the original Taino. They were found not in Saint Domingue but in the neighboring Spanish colony of Santo Domingo. From 1519 to 1533 the cacique Enrique and a small band of followers had waged a successful guerrilla war against the Spanish, and forced them to pass the Americas' first maroon treaty (Fernández de Oviedo 1959, I:124-39; Las Casas 1986, III:chs. 125-27; Herrera 1934, IV:357-62, X:113-22, 355-66). In an embroidered account of these events, written around 1730, the French historian Charlevoix claimed Enrique had subsequently settled with the last of the Tainos in the village of Boyá some forty miles north of Santo Domingo city, where they were granted extensive autonomy. Charlevoix (1733, II:219-322) added that down to the beginning of the eighteenth century the head of the Boyá community had used the title "Cacique of the Island of Haiti."<sup>32</sup>

The modern Spanish/Dominican historian Utrera (1973:24, 457-61) has shown there were in fact no historical links between Enrique and Boyá, which was founded years after the cacique's death. Moreover, the village's original inhabitants seem to have died out in the 1650s and been replaced by a small group of Campeche Maya rescued from the French of Tortuga.<sup>33</sup> By the 1700s residents of Boyá were mainly mestizos and numbered fewer than one hundred by 1720, and only twenty-five or thirty in the 1780s. Several eighteenth-century writers recognized they were not descended from the Taino, among them the French colonial lawyer Moreau de Saint-Méry. He observed, nonetheless, that in 1744 several Indians in the frontier town of Hinche had legally proved their descent from the followers of Enrique, and that the inhabitants of Boyá continued to

exhibit extreme pride in their supposed heritage (Charlevoix 1733, II:322; Sánchez Valverde 1971:150; Moreau de Saint-Méry 1796, I:59, 162-63).

This community clearly caught the imagination of Philippe-Rose Roume, a prominent official of the French Revolutionary government who served in Saint Domingue from 1791 to 1801. After Santo Domingo was made a French colony in 1795, he was posted there for eighteen months. He never visited Boyá nor saw any of its residents, whom he thought reclusive. Yet in a report of October 1797, he recounted the story of Enrique and added,

Thus it might be possible that, despite considerable decline, these men may have passed from father to son some tradition regarding the former state and history of the Haitians. This information would be very important to philosophy, and if the Indians have been able to keep their secrets from the Spanish, they will certainly reveal them to the French. (Cited in Rodríguez Demorizi 1958:282-83)

Inspired by revolutionary egalitarianism, the Noble Savage, and the Black Legend, Roume called for French officials to carry out the "sweet and sacred duty" of extending the benefits of republican rule to "the wretched remains of a simple and virtuous people," while resisting the temptation to exact on the Spanish Creoles the vengeance that their conquistador ancestors had merited. The local Spanish governor, who remained in office after the French takeover, intercepted this report. Forwarding the report to Madrid, Governor García denied the Boyá mestizos were descendants of Enrique, or that they were reclusive. "He who seeks tradition among them will find less than among any other people" (Rodríguez Demorizi 1958: 282-83). Anxious to present the colonial population as loyal Spanish subjects, he claimed the mestizos were better off simple and ignorant without having the French awaken in them ideas of tradition and history.

Whatever the truth about the Boyá community of the late eighteenth century, there is a possibility that it served as a source of inspiration for Haitian revolutionaries. Though situated more than 200 kilometers from the colonial frontier, indirect knowledge of it might have come through the enthusiastic conversations of Agent Roume, or through the black rebels earlier recruited as soldiers by the Spanish for their failed invasion of Saint Domingue in 1793-1795.<sup>34</sup> The blacks' invasion and occupation of Santo Domingo under Toussaint Louverture (1801-1802) could conceivably have resulted in some direct contact. Yet surely the likeliest source of knowledge about Boyá and Enrique for residents of Saint Domingue were the same books that no doubt provided Roume himself with much of his information – Charlevoix's 1730s *Histoire*, which was

reprinted in the 1780s, and Moreau de Saint-Méry's, *Description de la partie espagnole*, published in French and English in 1796.<sup>35</sup>

The reason many Haitians, from Dessalines's secretary Juste Chanlatte<sup>36</sup> to the twentieth-century Indigenists, have viewed the Taino as a symbol of resistance has much to do with the personal epic of Enrique and his long campaign in the mountains of Baoruco. More generally, as David Lowenthal (1972:108) remarks, the Caribbean Indians' rapid disappearance has helped foster in the region a romantic stereotype of a population that preferred death to slavery. Enrique's story, however, was particularly apt for Haitians, as he was apparently joined in his mountain retreat by African fugitives from the first generation of plantation slaves.<sup>37</sup> Africans and Indians resisted slavery together, wrote Beaubrun Ardouin (1958, VI:7) in the mid-nineteenth century, seeking to explain the naming of Haiti. "The African and the Indian held hands together in chains," observed his contemporary Emile Nau (1963, I:12). Such knowledge of the Arawak past in Haiti seems to have had little to do with the survival of a Taino population into the eighteenth century or the continuous transmission of ancestral traditions, as Fouchard, Maximilien, and Elie apparently believed. No Haitian scholar of the early nineteenth century adopted such an interpretation, and Madiou (1987-89, II:451) and Nau (1963, I:12) explicitly denied there were any biological or cultural links between the pre-Columbian and modern Haitian populations.<sup>38</sup>

#### HAITI AND THE INCA

The name of Haiti was surely transmitted through written sources, to which only a minority of the new elite could have had access. Not only the rapid demise of the Taino population, but also the change in pronunciation between the Taino and French versions of the word, points to this conclusion.<sup>39</sup> Another reason is the curious and temporary adoption of the name "Incas" by the black insurgents at the outset of the final phase of the War of Independence. According to Madiou (1987-89, II:451, 472), when Dessalines went into revolt in the fall of 1802 he "gave to the people that accepted his authority the name of Incas or children of the sun." For some months his soldiers called themselves "Sons of the Sun," until these terms were abandoned in favor of the word "indigène" meaning "native." One surviving letter by the black general Capois offers evidence of this practice.<sup>40</sup> Although it remains an obscure episode, rarely mentioned in modern histories, this use of Amerindian symbolism prior to adopting the word "Haïti" seems to show Dessalines's desire to identify

with an Amerindian past even in the absence of reliable information about that past.

It may be, as Jean Fouchard (1984b:14) argued, that the insurgents were remembering news of the 1780-1781 uprising in the Andes of Tupac Amaru and Tupac Katari. Though an attractive hypothesis, this seems unlikely. The uprising received very little mention at the time in the colonial press, and more than twenty years had passed. It is more probable that the Taino were thought to be descendants of the Incas. Evidence for this comes from the novel *Zoflora ou la bonne négresse*, published in Paris in 1799. Its author, J.-B. Picquenard, who had spent a short time in Saint Domingue, suggested that Hispaniola's aboriginal population had come from Peru (Picquenard 1799, II:209).<sup>41</sup> He claimed, moreover, that pre-Columbian underground burial chambers still survived in the Artibonite plain, which is where Dessalines made his headquarters. Whether or not *Zoflora* reflected ideas already popular in the colony, the book surely must have reached Saint Domingue during the period 1799-1803; it was one of the first novels written about the Haitian Revolution. Alexandre Pétion and other free colored exiles who reached France in 1800 and returned in 1802 in the Napoleonic invasion fleet could well have encountered the book in Paris or in the hands of fellow officers.

As Pétion broke with the French at the same time as Dessalines and joined him in the Artibonite in late November 1802, it is tempting to believe that he played a major role in choosing the term "Government of the Incas." The term probably derived from literary sources. Dessalines was illiterate, yet Pétion, his second in command, had received at least a basic education (Saint-Rémy 1956, I:11-12).<sup>42</sup> However, he was not an intellectual. It may be significant that the term "Incas" was dropped some time after July 1803, the month that Louis Boisrond-Tonnerre was recruited from his home on the south coast to be Dessalines's secretary (Boisrond-Tonnerre 1981:ix). He and Juste Chanlatte are generally recognized as the most learned of early Haitian political advisors (Trouillot 1986:90; Madiou 1987-89, III:183).<sup>43</sup> They were the most able to point out the awkwardness of the Inca trope. Since Chanlatte did not return from exile until the end of the War of Independence, one suspects here the influence of Boisrond-Tonnerre.

As Boisrond-Tonnerre also wrote the declaration of independence, one might assume he chose the state's name as well. If that were the case, however, he could be expected to have mentioned it in his *Mémoires*.<sup>44</sup> Madiou seems quite clear that the name was chosen before Boisrond was asked to draw up the document on December 31. Joseph Saint-Rémy, writing slightly later, implied the name was formally approved only after

the declaration was written, but no more than Madiou did he attribute the choice to Boisrond. It remains possible that Boisrond's great unpopularity with the mulatto elite caused successors to minimize his role in the founding of the state. But it may well be the obscure figure Charéron had already used the word in his draft declaration of independence that Dessalines rejected on December 31. On balance, it would appear that the name "Haïti" enjoyed a certain currency among the men surrounding Dessalines and that no one person was responsible for its selection.

### HAITI AND QUISQUEYA

This directs attention to the survival of the word in printed texts since the fifteenth century. Columbus never used it in his writings. Peter Martyr, the court cleric who interviewed returnees from the Americas through the 1490s, recorded three terms he thought the Taino had used in succession: "Quizquella," "Haïti," and "Cipango" (Columbus 1969:71, 80, 85, 116, 142 and 1989:132; Martir de Angleria 1989, I:351, 354). In a classic study of the early contact period, geographer Carl Sauer (1966:45) implied "Haiti" referred not to the whole of Hispaniola but to only one part of it. He noted that the pilot/cartographer Andrés Morales, who surveyed the island in 1508, applied the term to a region approximating the modern Montes Haitises in the eastern Dominican Republic. He added that Morales's report, as recounted in Peter Martyr's *Third Decade* (published in 1516) represented "the first appearance of the name 'Haiti'." This is true, however, only as regards publication. Dr. Chanca, the official physician on Columbus's second voyage, had written to the Seville cabildo in 1494 that "Haïti" was the easternmost province of Hispaniola (Columbus 1969:142).<sup>45</sup> Ramón Pané (1988:26), a friar who lived among the island's natives in the mid-1490s, recorded that they called the whole island "Ahití."<sup>46</sup> Since he was one of the first Europeans to learn an Amerindian language, and he lived among both Arawak and Marcorix speakers for several years, his testimony carries weight. Bartolomé de Las Casas, it is true, cast aspersions on his linguistic knowledge, but he, too, believed "Haïti" was the aboriginal term for Hispaniola (Las Casas 1992:27; Columbus 1989:132).

Las Casas's first-hand experience of the island dated from nearly a decade later, but his knowledge of the Taino was probably unrivalled among his European contemporaries. Neither he nor the chronicler Oviedo used the term "Quizquella," which some modern scholars consider bogus (Fernández de Oviedo 1959, I:27, 32, 143; Las Casas 1986, I:chs. 45-48;

Tejera 1945:216-21 and 1977, II:1148-49). Nevertheless, from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century, European writers tended to record "Quisqueya" and "Haiti" as alternative aboriginal names for Hispaniola (Herrera 1934, I:23; De Laet 1633:5; Charlevoix 1733, I:4-5). In the course of the eighteenth century, however, "Haiti" began to emerge as the preferred of the two terms. Raynal did not mention "Quisqueya" at all in the three editions of his *Histoire des deux Indes* (Raynal 1774, III:13; 1780, III:346). Nor did Antonio Alcedo in his *Diccionario* of 1786-89 (cited in Tejera 1945:220). Moreau de Saint-Méry (1958, I:266 and 1796, I:1) and Sánchez Valverde (1971:7, 27), also writing in the 1780s, mentioned the two alternatives but tended to privilege "Haiti."<sup>47</sup> In his novel *Zoflora*, J.-B. Piquenard (1799, I:v, 48), referred to "the former island of Ohaiti now called Saint Domingue."<sup>48</sup> Much more striking, in a letter to the Archbishop of Santo Domingo of July 1796, the Civil Commissioner Roume referred to the ex-slaves as "the new French of Haiti," as if the colony had already changed names (Incháustegui 1957, I:275).

Yet the most remarkable usage of the word came in an obscure, anonymous pamphlet published in 1788, supposedly at Les Cayes on Saint Domingue's isolated south coast (*Essai* 1788:9, 12). It was a plan for colonial reform written probably by a lawyer. This region had a tradition of autonomist, even secessionist, leanings among its planter class (Frostin 1972). Besides advocating a system of representative government for the colony, this pamphlet suggested the renaming of colonial place names. "Saint Domingue" was to become "Aïti," which the writer thought to be the aboriginal name of northern Hispaniola, and a new capital city was to be called "Royal-Aïti." As in Spanish America, a degree of indigenism was perhaps emerging among some of the colony's white creoles disgruntled with metropolitan rule. Along with printed works, such colonists might have been another source of influence for south-coast free coloreds like Boisrond-Tonnerre.<sup>49</sup>

Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to suppose that, even if literate *ancien libres* suggested the new state's name, its adoption was predicated on some wider, if more vague, awareness of a vanished civilization among the ex-slave population. This is because of the visibility of Taino physical remains in many parts of Saint Domingue. In his three-volume *Description* of the colony, Moreau de Saint-Méry made frequent references to Arawak rockcarvings, tombs, earthen mounds, and artefacts that were strewn on the ground.<sup>50</sup> Slaves who worked the land and hunted in the woods could hardly have ignored them. Dessalines, born on the border of Dondon parish, must have known of its caverns with their petroglyphs and burials, fetishes and axe heads. Of Limonade parish, in the plains below, Moreau

wrote that "Every step you take, there are the remains of Indian utensils" (Moreau de Saint-Méry 1958, I:212). Thirty years later, extensive remains of a large Amerindian settlement still surrounded the town of Gonaïves, where national independence was proclaimed (Hoffmann 1987:9). The baron de Vastey (1814:2-3), a leading statesman of the new Haiti, began his *Système colonial dévoilé*, published in 1814, with a long reflection on the fate of the Tainos.

O soil of my country! ... Is there another whose unhappy inhabitants have experienced greater misfortune? ... Everywhere I tread or cast my gaze, I see shards, jars, tools, figurines, whose form bears witness to the infancy of art, [and, in mountain caverns, whole whitened skeletons] these remains that attest the existence of a people who are no more.

The few Amerindians that slaves encountered in colonial times may have served a similar function to these archaeological remains. Though not Tainos themselves, such Indians still provided a living reminder of the Caribbean before the Europeans came, and enabled Africans and Afro-Americans to visualize their distant predecessors. The new nation's name was thus perhaps more meaningful to its inhabitants than were "Colombia" or "Venezuela" to the Indians and blacks of northern South America.

#### CONCLUSION

The choice of the Taino name "Haiti" for the new state probably derived from literary sources, and the colored elite must have played a preponderant role in its selection. It had little to do with the survival of Arawak culture, or of an ancestrally Taino population. One may suppose, however, that the widespread physical remains of the vanished civilization and the continued presence of isolated Amerindians and mestizos in Hispaniola's population created among the mass of former slaves a vague awareness of their Taino predecessors, and that the choice of name probably was predicated on this awareness.

The Haitians of 1804 were not alone in their symbolic manipulation of the Taino. Even before Dessalines declared "I have avenged America!" and before early nationalist writers presented the slave insurgents as avengers of the Arawak (Madiou 1987-89, I:viii-ix; Juste Chanlatte cited in Hoffmann 1994:26; Nau 1963, I:12-13), certain English writers had employed the same conceit, depicting the black revolutionaries as punishing the cruelties of the conquistadors (Geggus 1982:129, 146, 242). For the Haitians, it was a rhetorical device that amplified their indictment of impe-

rialism and added legitimacy to their cause. For their English contemporaries, it was a way to criticize Britain's French and Spanish opponents simultaneously; and for proslavery apologists among them, like Bryan Edwards, it helped obscure, via a flashback to the sixteenth century, the planter-slave conflict at the heart of the Haitian revolution.

For some Haitian intellectuals, the Taino have tended to symbolize resistance, embodied in certain individuals like Enrique and Caonabó.<sup>51</sup> In the Spanish Caribbean their image has been similarly celebrated, as well as appropriated to sell products associated with strength (e.g. Hatuey beer in Cuba and the Dominican Republic). North Europeans, on the other hand, in their desire to emphasize the evils of the Spanish conquest, have tended to overlook Enrique and to stress the Tainos' pacific tendencies.<sup>52</sup> A peculiarly idiosyncratic version of this trope appeared in the published reminiscences of a former French colonist who wrote in the aftermath of the slave revolution,

The French creole was born in Saint Domingue under the influence of these innocent martyrs [the Taino] ... His heart was compassionate and sensitive ... The black is lazy and a thief; he used to get beaten sometimes; but in France didn't schoolboys used to get beaten? (Mozard 1844:22).

After the Haitian occupation of Santo Domingo during the period 1822-1844, an interesting reaction took place among scholars in the neighboring Hispanic population. Until the Haitian invasion of 1822, Spanish writers had freely accepted "Haití" as an indigenous term for Hispaniola. Thereafter, "Quisqueya" became the preferred term, and some claimed that in pre-Columbian times it had referred specifically to the eastern end of the island (Angulo y Guridi 1866, cited in Tejera 1945:220; García 1867, I:12). This was despite the absence of any supporting evidence, the presence in the Dominican Republic of several local place names incorporating the word "Haití," and the letter of Dr. Chanca cited above.<sup>53</sup> This post-facto rationalization was nonetheless subsequently accepted by several Haitian writers.<sup>54</sup> Dominican antipathy for the word "Haiti" became publicized in the early 1930s, when the United States adopted "Hispaniola" as the name for the whole island. Haitians and Dominicans both objected, preferring national alternatives. However, the Academy of History and the National Teaching Council of the Dominican Republic each issued statements to the effect that "Hispaniola" would be preferable to "Haiti," which would be unacceptable to most Dominicans (Mangonès 1934:6-9).

The relationship between the color question in Haiti and interest in the country's Amerindian past remains controversial. From the writings of Juste Chanlatte to the government of Jean-Claude Duvalier, which at-



tempted to establish a national Day of the Indian in 1983 (Fouchard 1984b:16; Hoffmann 1994:32), concern with Amerindian symbolism has tended to come from the light-skinned elite. Yet it has rarely been attached to claims of biological descent in the manner sometimes attributed to Dominicans and Cubans.<sup>55</sup> Such cases have existed, doubtless reflecting the impact of scientific racism; historian Louis Elie is the notable example, and Emile Roumer devoted a poem to the subject.<sup>56</sup> Nonetheless, according to Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain (1992:156) the contrary tendency has been more pronounced, that of individual Haitians refusing to acknowledge their Indian ancestry for fear public opinion would perceive it as an attempt to minimize their African heritage. Moreover, it would seem that popular (as opposed to elite) attitudes in Haiti link Amerindians with weakness and primitivism.<sup>57</sup>

Henock Trouillot (1986:113) saw the Amerindian vogue in Haitian literature as a way of avoiding the color question. Léon-François Hoffmann (1994:23, 31) disagrees, noting that many of its protagonists did stress blackness as a component of Haitian identity. Indeed, even a prominent noirist like Lorimer Denis claimed an Amerindian heritage for modern Haitians. Haitian "indianism," however, doubtless has reflected national tensions related to color. It is probably not accidental that Emile Nau's *Caciques* and Joseph Saint-Rémy's *Pétion* appeared simultaneously. Both works, published in the mid-1850s, gave non-black national icons to a light-skinned elite suddenly forced to come to terms with the aggressive "black" populism of Emperor Faustin Soulouque, whose rule was widely ridiculed abroad. The indianist writings of Henri Chauvet and Arsène Chevre around 1900 also might be related to the elite's loss of control of the presidency in those years to black military figures. Evocations of the Indian past were an indirect way of insisting that Haiti was not just a black or neo-African state.

One could further read a rejection of the homogenizing claims of *négritude*, ascendent after the 1930s, in the concern with Amerindian heritage expressed by a Louis Elie or a Jean Fouchard, or in the claims of others that the Haitian Carnival or the Creole language reflect strong Amerindian influence (Faine 1936:2; Elie 1944-45, I:201-08, II:258-59; Fouchard 1972:157-65 and 1984b:13-17; Charles 1992:115-223). Writing of "our Indianness," Toussaint Desrosiers ([1984]:iii, 7, 28-29, 34) recently contended that common French words of African or Asian derivation, such as *igname* or *sucre*, in fact have an Arawak origin. And Michelson Hyppolite (1989:106) pleads that Haiti's Indian heritage is in some way authentic, whereas affiliation with both Africa and Europe evinces "Bovaryism." Such romantic speculations in the more inclusive spirit of

*antillanité* seem to reflect a desire to reduce Haiti's exceptionalism, claiming for it a closer affinity with the states of Latin America that traditionally have shunned it. They no doubt have been reinforced by a reluctance to locate the origins of the national culture solely within the dismal boundaries of the slave plantation.

In 1803, the Haitian revolutionaries' revival of the Tainos' name for their most important settlement betokened above all a rejection of Europe and its colonial claims. It was a legitimizing link with the pre-Columbian American past, of which all Haitians could approve and which resonated with people of all social levels. However, for Haitians of partly European ancestry – who played a dominant role in the name's selection – Amerindian symbols had perhaps a special appeal. People of mixed heritage risked a sense of alienation or marginalization in state where African descent was the basis of national identity, and all citizens (temporarily) were defined as "black." They thus may have welcomed an alternative construct that defined Haitians as successors of the Taino.

Whatever sectional interests have been reflected in Haitians' concern with the Amerindian past, the men of 1804 clearly chose well when naming their new country. Through scission, secession, and the rise and fall of republican and monarchical regimes, the name has survived, suggesting its validity in the eyes of a broad spectrum of the population, even if it has not meant exactly the same thing for all Haitians.

## NOTES

1. The name first officially appears, without explanation, in the text and at the head of the proclamation of independence made January 1, 1804 at Gonaïves. An earlier supposed declaration of November 29, 1803, stated only that "L'indépendance de Saint-Domingue est proclamée," and its authenticity has been challenged (Madiou 1987-89, III:125 n.1, 150). Belize exchanged its colonial designation for the name of a local river; most other states have kept their colonial name, whether or not it corresponded to an aboriginal term.

2. Its etymology is discussed in Tejera 1977, II:754-58. Whereas the Spanish rendering of the word "Haiti" preserved the Taino stress on the final syllable, the French and Creole versions stress the second syllable, which was to entirely vanish in the American English version.

3. Archives de la Guerre, Vincennes, MS 597; Archives Nationales, Section d'Outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence, CC9B/23, proclamation of April 28, 1804. Exceptions were made for certain whites who had allied themselves with blacks. In the constitutions of 1805, 1806, and 1816 the ban on Europeans was rephrased to exclude "whites of whatever nation," but it was omitted in the 1807 and 1811 constitutions of Henry Christophe, ruler of northern Haiti (1807-1820) (Janvier 1886:30-144).

4. This and other translations from French and Spanish are mine. Baron de Vastey (1969:44) was even more laconic: "The name of the island was altered, and the St. Domingo of the French was superseded by the original name of Hayti."
5. The supposed addendum "ti" also lacks a plausible explanation. If the creole word for "little," it would have preceded the noun.
6. On the ethnic composition of the slave population, see Geggus 1993:79, 81.
7. "Congo" has acquired the meaning "traitor" in Haitian Creole, either because of the ethnic politics of the revolution, or a supposed propensity for acculturation to European norms under slavery (Montilus 1982:164-5; below, note 9). For different reasons, it is also an insult in Jamaican Creole (Cassidy & Lepage 1980:118).
8. Dessalines was born at Cormier in Saint Domingue's northern mountains in 1758 (Fouchard 1984a:7). Evidence suggests other similarly identified leaders, such as Biassou, Moïse, perhaps even Boukman, were also locally-born.
9. Madiou 1987-89, II:395-6; Auguste 1990:11-42. Tensions between African and Creole insurgents went back to the beginning of the revolution. They were aggravated by Toussaint Louverture's reopening the slave trade, and continued after independence (University of Florida Library, Gainesville, Special Collections, Rochambeau Microfilms, lot 132, Roume to Forfait, 3 vendémiaire an X; Archives de la Guerre, Vincennes, MS 601).
10. A younger, more partisan but more meticulous, contemporary of Madiou, Saint-Rémy similarly collected the reminiscences of participants in the Revolution.
11. The 1847-48, 1904, and 1922 editions of Madiou's history contain an appendix identifying the phenotype of prominent individuals. Even General Yayou was born in the colony (Auguste 1990:29).
12. Archives de la Guerre, MS 601. See also the essays on leading administrators in Léon (1945, I:1-115).
13. Though Dessalines's constitution of 1805 admitted no dominant religion, he sent Haitians to Rome to be ordained as priests. The constitutions of 1806, 1807, and 1816 gave Roman Catholicism a privileged position (Janvier 1886:30-144). All heads of state repressed voodoo (Leyburn 1966:139-40; Trouillot 1986:50; Madiou 1987-89, II:112).
14. However, some historians have suggested that certain leaders' unorthodox French was a means of expressing contempt for the language (Léon 1945, I:129). Dessalines spoke no French and liked Boisrond-Tonnerre partly because of his ability to speak a vulgar Creole (Trouillot 1986:90).
15. He characterizes the position of the Indian in Haitian literature as shifting in this century from an object of parallelism to one of identification, with biological descent only rarely being claimed. In the Dominican Republic mulattoes have, at least in the twentieth century, officially been called "mestizos" or "indios." Some say this is merely an evocation of the aboriginal past, not a sign of false consciousness, but others decode it as deliberate obfuscation, an attempt to lay claim to a bogus ancestry and to reclassify African cultural retentions as Amerindian (Franco 1973:98; Fenne-ma & Loewenthal 1987:25-30, 61-64; Benítez-Rojo 1992:50; Sagás 1993:1-5; below, note 55).

16. Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen, Ms. Leber 5847, f.62.
17. The slave general Georges Biassou was perhaps expressing similar feelings when he informed the governor of Santo Domingo, "I like only solid and natural colors that nothing can change": Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Sevilla, Audiencia de Santo Domingo (SD) 956, García to Acuña, November 25, 1793, encl. no. 6.
18. After the revolution, however, King Christophe's spokesman, Baron de Vastey, did note that in keeping with universal prejudices blacks considered themselves more beautiful than others, and that Haitian artists depicted God and the angels as black, and devils as white (Nicholls 1991:116).
19. The free colored political club formed in Paris in September 1789 by Julien Raimond and Vincent Ogé (both "quadroons," as was Boisrond-Tonnerre, according to some) took the name "Société des Colons Américains." It appears initially to have had no black members (Debbasch 1967:144-66). The term was used freely by Jean-Baptiste Chavannes, who rebelled with Vincent Ogé in October 1790, Archives Nationales, Paris, Section Moderne, Dxxv/58/574, "Interrogation de Vincent Ogé." In the autumn of 1791 free colored insurgents in north-eastern Saint Domingue called themselves "L'Armée américaine": AGI, SD 954, García to Bajamar, November 25, 1791, encl. Y and Z.
20. Son of a white man and mulatto woman, Pétion "with his smooth hair could have been mistaken for an Indian" (Saint-Rémy 1956, I:11).
21. See also *Aia bombé*, *Revue Mensuelle* (Port-au-Prince) 1 (1946), p. 32; Price Mars 1928:113-14; Elie 1944-45, I:197; Desrosiers: 7, 28-29.
22. On the chants see Geggus 1991:24-31.
23. In Hurbon (1995:31), one reads "the surviving Carib Indians" contributed to voodoo's formation.
24. Also, the name of the agricultural deity Azaka can be traced to an African rather than a Taino source (Montilus 1981:73-84).
25. Hyppolite (1989:103) aptly calls voodoo priests "Haiti's first archaeologists."
26. Of course, innumerable Amerindian place-names have survived to the present. The point here is that the Amerindian term for the island was immediately and successfully supplanted by European terms.
27. Official head counts indicated a decline in the Amerindian population from 60,000 in 1509 to about 11,000 in 1518, when imports from Africa were authorized. Modern estimates of the pre-conquest population have ranged from 60,000 to eight million (Henige 1978:217-37).
28. The 1681 census recorded 480 mulattoes and Indians, all slaves. The south had 128 Indians in 1631 and 83 in 1713 (Moreau de Saint-Méry 1958, I:84, III:1164-65).
29. Its usage by Amerindians near Cumaná was recorded in the 1540s (Loven 1935:68). Seventeenth-century Dominican Caribs also used the word (Tejera 1977, II:754).
30. In 1731, 500 Natchez were deported to Saint Domingue. Moreau also mentions

deportations of Fox (Renards), though this is not confirmed by Peyser (1989-90:83-110).

31. See the samples of more than 30,000 plantation slaves cited in Geggus 1993, and more than 5,000 slave fugitives listed in the colonial newspaper *Affiches Américaines*, 1788 and 1790.

32. The book is based on the notes of fellow missionary father Le Pers, who later criticized the use Charlevoix made of them.

33. This indispensable work makes extensive use of archival sources, but errs in making Sánchez Valverde the first to link Enrique with Boyá.

34. They, however, remained in the frontier region and many emigrated in 1796 (Geggus 1995:120-22).

35. The basic printed source on Enrique is Oviedo's *Historia*, which was published in French as early as 1555. Charlevoix's *Histoire*, reprinted many times in the 1730s and 40s, and again in 1780-81, was the first work to link Enrique with Boyá. Sánchez Valverde's *Idea del valor* was also published in French in Saint Domingue itself some time before 1802. Moreau de Saint-Méry mentioned Enrique only briefly, as if he was well-known to his readers. Las Casas's account was not published until the nineteenth century.

36. Juste Chanlatte (wrongly) depicted Enrique dying in battle against the Spanish in a poem cited in Hoffmann (1994:26). He was the author of the April 28, 1804 proclamation (above, note 3) that spoke of avenging "America," and also of the free coloreds' bloodthirsty call to arms of November 1791 (Madiou 1987-89, I:114, III:183).

37. Although not recorded by Las Casas or Herrera, such cooperation is briefly mentioned in Oviedo and Charlevoix, which nonetheless give as much attention to Enrique's subsequent agreement to hand over black fugitives to the Spanish and have them hunted for bounty, along with (non-Taino) Indian slaves. In this way the accord of 1533 prefigured many later maroon treaties. According to Utrera (1973:27, 39), African slave rebels destroyed Enrique's Baoruco settlement in 1547.

38. Louis Elie (1944-45, II:259) argued that in the 1520s the two groups intermingled leaving apparently numerous mixed descendants.

39. See above, note 2.

40. Camus (1983:71), contains a letter of July 3, 1803 apparently headed "Armée des Incas." However, the writing in the original is unclear, and the term was interpolated into the printed version by the journal editor, Jean Fouchard. Personal communication from Michel Camus.

41. Various errors suggest the author did not reside long in the colony.

42. Dessalines supposedly offered the supreme command to Pétion at this time (Boisrond-Tonnerre 1981:xviii-xix).

43. Chanlatte was raised in Paris and spent the period 1798-1803 in the United States. Boisrond was educated in Paris, and lived there approximately from 1792 to 1800, when 16-24 years of age (Saint-Rémy 1956, IV:11, 19; Boisrond-Tonnerre 1981:introduction).

44. He mentions the extermination of the Tainos on the first page, but no more than that.
45. This lends some support to the idea of a regional rather than island-wide application, but the region in question is flat not mountainous; Chanca did not record a native name for the whole island.
46. Long unpublished, Pané's memoir apparently was completed in 1495.
47. Moreau's books were published in the 1790s but written in the previous decade.
48. The curious form "Ohaïti" suggests some confusion with Tahiti, then called "Otaïti."
49. However, the National Union Catalog and Bissainthe (1951:397), attribute this work to one Charles-Jacob de Bleschamp, who was a lawyer and French naval bureaucrat, at that time Intendant de la Marine at Le Havre.
50. Moreau de Saint-Méry 1958, I:163, 265, 285, II:617, 625, 635, 656, 786, 807, 814, 898, III:1212, etc. Cf. Dr. Arthaud's account of stone phalluses found in northern caves: Archives Nationales, Section d'Outre-mer, Aix, F3/267, ff. 208-211.
51. A parallel tendency, long established in Haitian letters, has been to claim Caonabó as a Carib (a people far more bellicose in reputation), or to describe the pre-Columbian population as a mixture of Taino and Carib (which is plausible), or simply to call them "Carib." Edmond Mangonès (1934:58) argued "Haïti" was a Carib word and "Quisqueya" Taino.
52. He is not mentioned in any edition of Raynal's *Histoire philosophique*, nor in Sauer's *Early Spanish Main*, which also presents Caonabó and Hatuey in a rather pacific light.
53. A map dated 1630 showing Quisqueya in the south and Haiti in the north is reproduced in Hurbon 1995:18-19. Adolfo Mejía Ricart (1948, I:35-38) commented that the association with the east was erroneous, but he (wrongly) thought it due to an error by Ramón Pané.
54. See the 1893 introduction to Nau's *Caciques*; Jean-Baptiste Dehoux, *Etudes sur les aborigènes d'Haïti*, cited in Tejera 1945:220; Elie 1944-45, I:86.
55. Note, however, that Záiter Mejía (1996) does not mention Amerindians, although the author does observe many Dominicans have difficulty accepting the nation's multi-ethnic, "fundamentalmente mulato" identity (p. 92). Silvio Torres-Saillant (1996) observes that, "in the minds of most Dominicans who use it" the term *indio* "merely describes a color gradation." Cf. above, note 15. On Cuba, see Duharte Jiménez 1992:162.
56. "L'historien Thomas Madiou affirme dans son Autobiographie qu'il descend d'une indienne. Des milliers et milliers d'Haïtiens sont dans le même cas." "On a remarqué, durant la traite [d'esclaves], de nombreux métis de Maures et de Nègresses ayant les traits fins de l'Européen. Leur langue, à peine corrompue, témoignait réellement de leur ascendance semitique ... le pays n'a pas été peuplé seulement de primitifs incultes" (Elie 1944-45, II:140, 259). Cf. Lowenthal 1972:185; Comhaire-Sylvain 1992:156. In a highly polemical exchange with Haitian scholars, Dominican historian Rodríguez Demorizi (1955:51) mocked certain Haitian intellectuals' at-

tempts to "remontar su historia a los días del descubrimiento, y no a las selvas africanas."

57. In the 1940s Kléber Georges-Jacob wrote that most Haitians believed that Dominicans were inferior because of their Indian ancestry (Rodríguez Demorizi 1955:55). Cf. Hyppolite 1989:107, 112.

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TRACKING THE CARIBBEAN SOUND:  
THREE CURRENT HITS

*Zouk: World Music in the West Indies.* JOCELYNE GUILBAULT (with GAGE AVERILL, ÉDOUARD BENOIT & GREGORY RABESS). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993. xxv + 279 pp. and compact disk. (Cloth US\$ 55.00, Paper US\$ 27.75)

*Calypso Calaloo: Early Carnival Music in Trinidad.* DONALD R. HILL. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. xvi + 344 pp. and compact disk. (Cloth US\$ 49.95, Paper US\$ 24.95)

*Calypso & Society in Pre-Independence Trinidad.* GORDON ROHLEHR. Port of Spain: Gordon Rohlehr, 1990. x + 613 pp. (Paper US\$ 40.00)

In 1983, from my listening post in Cayenne, the southernmost extension of the French Caribbean, I reported that "popular musicians in the Lesser Antilles are in the process of breathing life into new musical varieties blending *soka*, *cadence*, and reggae" (Bilby 1985:211). Little did I know that what I was describing was the sudden emergence, at that very moment, of an entirely new music in French Guiana's fellow *Départements d'Outre-Mer* to the north, Martinique and Guadeloupe. Down in Cayenne, which has always had close ties to the French Antilles, there was a feeling in the air that some fresh and invigorating cultural trend was about to burst forth. Even in the Maroon villages of the French Guianese interior, where I relocated in early 1984, the excitement was palpable.

The sound was so new that it had apparently not even been labeled yet; the young Antillean schoolteachers I met in the interior, fresh off the plane from Martinique and Guadeloupe, told me with pride that the new, de-

cidedly Creole style of music bubbling out of cassette players all along the river was known simply as “cassave” (the name of a “typical” Antillean root crop, they explained) – reflecting both its rootedness in indigenous folk traditions, and its debt to the band Kassav, which had been largely responsible for creating it. Within a matter of months, “zouk” had become a household word across the Francophone/Creolophone Caribbean, and my Aluku Maroon and Wayana Indian neighbors were dancing along with much of the rest of the French (post)colonial world to Kassav’s monster hit, “Zouk-la Sé Sèl Médikaman Nou Ni.”

Though hardly the first Caribbean genre to break out internationally, zouk arose during a period of unprecedented “modernization” and globalization, and the immediate sensation it caused in French Creole-speaking territories was extraordinary. Drawn to this compelling new sound and the questions raised by its rapid rise, Jocelyne Guilbault, an ethnomusicologist known for her previous work in St. Lucia, decided to launch a cross-island investigation of the zouk phenomenon; the result is *Zouk: World Music in the West Indies*.

For those who missed out on the original zouk explosion of the early 1980s, this study may fail to recapture the excitement of that initial period; but it offers a solid, well-rounded examination of the music, its development, its stylistic components, and its social context. Guilbault leaves few stones unturned. Particularly strong are her discussions of the way zouk has built on local Antillean traditions; her musicological analyses of its defining characteristics; her overview of its relationship to local music industries in various parts of the French (or French-influenced) Caribbean; and her observations on the increasing prominence of female performers in the zouk arena.

Not only does this study represent one of the first book-length ethnomusicological treatments in English of a current Caribbean popular music, but it is noteworthy for certain methodological innovations. The author’s sensitivity to recent trends in anthropology, for instance, leads her to share ethnographic authority with a large number of diverse voices. Sprinkled liberally through the text are quotations and commentaries from some of the approximately 120 local musicians and producers she interviewed. These add depth – and, on occasion, revealing sub-texts – to the study. Also impressive is the fact that she was able to carry out interviews on four different islands (Guadeloupe, Martinique, St. Lucia, and Dominica), each with its own musical dynamic. The chapter that reports on this comparative research, “Zouk and the Local Music Industries” (pp. 177-99), nicely probes the varying significance of zouk in these different environments.

Somewhat less effective is Guilbault's after-the-fact attempt to create a "dialogue" between the contributions of her three co-authors (area specialists invited to write chapters of their own) and the rest of the book. Each of these three middle sections – one by Édouard Benoit on the Guadeloupean background, another by Gage Averill on Haiti, and the last by Gregory Rabess on Dominica – stands admirably on its own. Yet, despite their individual merits, and the insightful interpretive comments by Guilbault that follow, the three pieces are never really woven into a satisfying conversation, and readers may well end up feeling that they have been subjected to a somewhat superfluous exercise in dialogism – one that detracts from the overall coherence of the book.

Like this experiment in multivocality, the reference to "world music" in the book's subtitle seems designed to signal an engagement with currently fashionable academic concerns. But the title is somewhat misleading, for the text in fact pays relatively little attention to zouk's passage into the wider world (the clearest discussions, both very brief, being reserved for the beginning and end of the book [pp. xv and 209-10]). Indeed, Guilbault offers no clear sense of just how global a phenomenon zouk really *is*. One must wonder whether she exaggerates when she asserts that "as a major contemporary force in the popular music field, zouk is helping shape economic, political, and social change worldwide" (p. xv). After all, this French Antillean musical fusion remains largely unknown in the United States (with the exception of French Caribbean and African enclaves); and Guilbault presents little evidence to suggest that it has had a substantial impact anywhere in Europe other than France.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it is odd that in a book ostensibly about a "world music," one finds virtually no discussion of the one part of the world outside the Caribbean where zouk has actually exerted a major stylistic (if not ideological) influence on local popular music – namely, Africa.<sup>2</sup>

Among the several styles of popular music competing for audiences in the French Antilles, the best candidate for the title of "world music" may in fact not be zouk, but rather the Jamaican-style *ragga* music (both imported and local) that has been growing in popularity in recent years. In Martinique and Guadeloupe, as in other parts of the world, ragga music (sometimes fused with African-American hip-hop) has come to serve not only as a vehicle of social and political discontent, but as a transnational medium of communication connecting disaffected urban youths with their counterparts in other countries.<sup>3</sup>

The contrast between these two Caribbean styles is instructive. Whereas indigenized French Antillean ragga, like the Jamaican dancehall style from which it is descended, often reflects a class-conscious, clearly oppo-

sitional stance, zouk, it might be argued, emerged in tandem with, and has tended to complement, the consumerist vision that drives the process of *départementalisation* in Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana. By and large, zouk is packaged and presented in ways that would seem to be quite compatible with the bourgeois sensibilities of those upwardly-mobile Antilleans who have been reaping the economic benefits of their islands' French political status; with its polished, "new and shiny" look and sound, it tends to lack the gritty, strident "edge" – the "street" credibility and the "rough" grassroots feeling – that has helped make ragga (like reggae before it) the voice of rebellious youth way beyond its birthplace in Jamaica. It is partly for this reason, I would contend, that zouk, despite its technical sophistication, self-consciously "modern" orientation, and undeniably infectious dance rhythms, has failed, in a world of globalizing, youth-driven marketing trends, to appeal to restless (and often politicized) young consumers of popular music on a truly global scale.<sup>4</sup>

Yet Guilbault is certainly correct to point out that oppositional tendencies exist in zouk (particularly in the use of the local Creole language in song lyrics, and in the incorporation and rehabilitation of various other elements of a vernacular culture that has long been denigrated). However, these elements maintain their oppositional force only within the rather provincial confines of the French Antilles, where the process of departmentalization, with its concomitant policies of *francisation* and assimilation, has bred massive cultural contradictions. (Whatever political charge zouk may carry in its homeland, or among French Antilleans in Paris, is not easily translated to outside listeners – especially those in the much poorer neighboring islands, who are well aware that most of the makers of this music, because they happen to have been born in French overseas departments, enjoy the highest standard of living in the entire Caribbean region.) Just as French political status and the economic advantages that go with it have driven a wedge between Martinique/Guadeloupe and the rest of the Caribbean, they have contributed to the development of a popular music whose ideological relevance (as opposed to its appeal as a mere dance music) would appear to be narrowly bound to the distinctive politics of identity that have arisen in response to the overpowering French presence in the overseas departments. Unfortunately, this book gives scant attention to the peculiar postcolonial reality engendered by departmentalization, barely touching on the fundamental question of how French Antilleans (whether through zouk or other forms of popular culture) confront and mediate their relationship with an omnipresent, totalizing French state – a relationship that some would consider to be the single most important sociological fact in the milieu out of which zouk emerged.<sup>5</sup>



The failure to engage this question in greater depth is, in my view, the one major flaw in this otherwise outstanding study. This weakness, I would hasten to add, is more than made up for by the work's positive contributions, particularly in the area of musicological description and analysis. Viewed as a whole, there can be little doubt that this book will remain an essential source on one of the Caribbean's most vital musical genres for a long time to come.

The two other books under review here center on the popular music of Trinidad, especially the calypso – a Caribbean genre that made the leap to foreign shores more than half a century before zouk took off. Reading Donald Hill's *Calypso Calaloo* back-to-back with Guilbault's *Zouk*, one is struck by the realization that calypso, during its heyday, appears to have had considerably greater, and more sustained, success in crossing over into foreign markets and giving voice to international concerns than zouk ever had – and this at a time when technologies of mass communication were far less developed. Calypso also prefigured zouk in its creative fusion of stylistic ingredients from diverse sources, both local and foreign, “traditional” and “modern,” into new cosmopolitan combinations. That a hybrid popular music of the kind often characterized today as “world music” was able to flourish so long ago suggests that students of musical transnationalism would do well to enlarge their time frames.

But Hill is not concerned – at least not directly – with questions of transnationalism. For him, the interest of Trinidadian popular music lies in the particular qualities that have made it such a marvelous mirror of its time and place. His fascination with the complex, volatile local milieu that produced carnival, calypso, and steelbands keeps this wide-ranging historical overview firmly planted in Trinidadian cultural soil (even when it follows migrating calypsonians to the United States).

Combining the preoccupations of the anthropologist, ethnohistorian, and record collector, Hill aims to bring to life for his readers the cultural artifacts left behind by popular musicians of an earlier time (foremost among these being the hundreds of 78 rpm discs recorded by calypsonians); in large measure he succeeds. As an ethnographer with much experience in the Lesser Antilles (both Trinidad and Carriacou), he is able to use his sense of place to bridge the space between these artifacts and their makers (most of whom are no longer alive) in a convincing manner.

Relying on a variety of sources, ranging from newspaper reports and published interviews to miscellaneous calypso memorabilia and the commercial recordings themselves, he fashions a sweeping yet detailed portrait of Trinidadian popular music from its origins in the creolized Afro-French carnival traditions of the nineteenth century to the emergence of the

steelband during World War II. Along the way he escorts us through the street celebrations and masquerade processions of the early days, the calypso tents that soon sprang up in their midst, and the more established entertainment venues and recording circuits through which calypsonians later made the transition into the world of mass-produced commercial music. (This guided tour is further fleshed out with brief profiles of a number of calypso luminaries, including Lord Executor, Atila the Hun, The Roaring Lion, and The Growling Tiger.) Before winding up his narrative with a chapter on censorship and the advent of the steel band, Hill treats us to a brief look at some of the better-known early "crossover" entertainers and calypso singers – men such as Lionel Belasco, Gerald Clark, Sam Manning, Wilmoth Houdini, and Sir Lancelot – who made their names by settling abroad and adapting to the curious blend of sleazy manipulation and marketing savvy that is American show biz.

As a highly readable account that manages, without sacrificing substance, to cover an enormous amount of ground in relatively little space, *Calypso Calaloo* is a welcome addition to the growing literature on one of the Caribbean's greatest cultural inventions.<sup>6</sup> For those coming to the subject fresh, it provides an excellent introduction; for those already initiated, it remains a useful reference.

Readers who come away from Hill's book with a desire to plunge yet deeper into the world of calypso are strongly encouraged to seek out Gordon Rohlehr's splendid *Calypso & Society in Pre-Independence Trinidad*, which traverses more or less the same terrain, but makes much longer stopovers along the way, allowing us to ponder local life in all its intricate detail. Rohlehr, who teaches literature at the University of the West Indies at St. Augustine, has been writing about calypso for local (as well as wider) audiences for years. (Sections of *Calypso & Society*, in fact, were previously published in a local newspaper, *The Trinidad and Tobago Review*, as part of a celebrated series of articles that hit the stands in the late 1980s.) And it is immediately obvious from this book that the author's location makes a difference; for the sense of intimacy that comes from long-time residence and participation in a local milieu marks every one of its pages.

Those who know of Rohlehr's career as a literary critic will expect a work rich in song texts and penetrating exegesis; they will not be disappointed. But this book offers a great deal more than this. The first two chapters (pp. 1-86) present one of the most comprehensive histories of the formative years of calypso to date. The roughly chronological narrative that follows is strewn with digressions on a phenomenal range of topics. There are extended discussions of calypso duets and calypso dramas; the

treatment of folkloric themes and elements (Shango, Shouters, Bongo, Obeah, etc.) in calypso recordings; the contradictory presence of both imperialist and anti-colonialist themes in calypso lyrics; images of relations between men and women; class tensions and censorship; commercialization of calypso; interethnic relations; the impact of the Yankee presence during World War II; and much more. The last part of the book presents a year by year breakdown and analysis of calypso-related events from 1946 through 1957, followed by individual discussions of important calypsonians in the years leading up to independence (including Kitchener, Spoiler, Lord Melody, Commander, and the Mighty Sparrow.) Through this all, Rohlehr repeatedly revisits a number of fundamental themes in the history of calypso, viewing them from different angles. The colonial dynamic that has spawned so many of the genre's contradictions and tensions, for instance, emerges as a constant refrain, as does the ongoing attempt by members of the local elite to co-opt carnival and to rein in recalcitrant calypsonians (tendencies that remain very much alive today).

At over 500 densely-packed pages, *Calypso & Society* is well nigh exhaustive. Despite its fluid, lucid prose, the mass of details it attempts to synthesize will likely strain the patience of all but the most devoted calypso enthusiasts. One suspects that the author's decision to pursue the route of self-publication was motivated at least in part by a desire to be free of the usual limits on length imposed by cost-conscious publishers. And thankfully so. For in having things his way, Rohlehr has produced what must be the closest thing there is to a definitive work on calypso. Anyone who cares deeply about this quintessentially Caribbean art form and the society in which it evolved owes him a considerable debt of gratitude for the immense effort that went into making this volume.

Indeed, all three authors whose books are reviewed here should be thanked for having set new standards in the study of Caribbean popular music.

A final note of praise must be sounded for the valuable assortment of indexes and appendixes (on a variety of topics) that increase the usefulness of all three books as reference volumes; and, especially, for the excellent compact disks prepared by Guilbault and Hill as audio accompaniment to their books.

Sounds, after all, are what we students of Caribbean music are after. As I compose these closing words, this time from Washington DC in the mid-1990s, I soak up the slightly zouk-tinged sounds of a stray CD from Trinidad bearing the title *Raggasoca Hits '96*, and can't help but notice that popular musicians in the Lesser Antilles are, at this very moment, busy cooking up "new musical varieties blending *soka*, *cadence*, and reggae"

(and much else besides). And I realize that – thanks and praises for recent advances in Caribbean music scholarship notwithstanding – those of us working in this area have some catching up to do.

## NOTES

1. In 1989 I attended a well-publicized concert by Kassav – indisputably the most famous zouk band – in Washington DC. Although the show took place in a high-profile downtown venue, the audience was limited almost entirely to Haitians and Francophone Africans. When I spoke with members of the band afterward, they expressed disappointment at Kassav's seeming inability to cross over to mass audiences in North America.
2. See, for instance, de Ledesma (1987) and Ewens (1991:36-37, 110). In her study, Guilbault simply remarks that the music of the group Kassav "has even reached the coast of Africa, where their phenomenal success is compared to that of the Beatles" (p. xv) – and leaves it at that.
3. In all fairness to Guilbault, it should be pointed out that during the period of her study (1986-89) the ragga phenomenon had not yet become as important in the French Antilles as it is today; it was not until the early 1990s that the style of Jamaican dancehall music that has come to be known as ragga started to have a major impact there (and in other parts of the world).
4. As Graeme Ewens (1991:37) puts it, "the big sound of zouk was slick and chic but ... into the Nineties its steam seemed to be running out."
5. Guilbault devotes less than two pages to a focused discussion of the significance of French departmental status for the politics of identity in Martinique and Guadeloupe (pp. 8-9). Toward the end of the book, she notes that "zouk has been associated ... for Guadeloupeans and Martinicans in particular, with the assertion of Antillean/Creole identity and difference within the context of the French departmental system" (p. 202). One only wishes that she had greatly elaborated on this passing observation. Those unfamiliar with the complexities of this question may wish to consult the recent overviews by Blérald (1983) and Burton (1993), the former stressing political economy, and the latter literary discourse.
6. Hill's book joins, among others, Hill (1972), Warner (1982), and Quevedo (1983), complementing rather than rehashing these earlier contributions. More recent offerings worth mentioning are Manuel, Bilby & Largey (1995:183-211), Stuempfle (1995), Cowley (1996), and a new book by calypsonian the Mighty Chalkdust (Hollis Liverpool), soon to be published in the United States.

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## THE CHILDREN OF HAM

*Bob Marley: Songs of Freedom.* RITA MARLEY, ADRIAN BOOT & CHRIS SALEWICZ (eds.). London: Bloomsbury, 1995. 288 pp. (Paper £ 14.99)

*Marley and Me: The Real Story.* DON TAYLOR (as told to Mike Henry). Kingston: Kingston Publishers, 1994. xxxv + 226 pp. (Paper US\$ 16.95)

*Dread Talk: The Language of Rastafari.* VELMA POLLARD. Kingston: Canoe Press, 1994. x + 84 pp. (Paper J\$ 150.00)

*Rastafari: Roots and Ideology.* BARRY CHEVANNES. Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 1994; Kingston: The Press – University of the West Indies, 1995. xiv + 298 pp. (Cloth US\$ 34.95, Paper US\$ 17.95; J\$ 500.00)

Seeking a myth to justify the enslavement of Africans, explorers, scholars, and others turned to the Bible, that most sacred and preeminent of Western texts, conjured-up an old biblical curse, and set it to work one more time. As Europe entered the Modern Era, Africans were reinvented as the children of Ham and were targeted for a life of servitude in the New World. Five hundred years later, black folk in Jamaica seized upon an event in Africa, re-interpreted a passage in the Revelation of John, and set in motion a project that transformed enslavement and exile into a religious movement of global proportions.<sup>1</sup>

The loose aggregation known as the Rastafarian Brethren are one of several “unofficial” religions practiced in contemporary Jamaica.<sup>2</sup> They coalesced as a community of practitioners during the interwar decades when they proclaimed the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie to be a living

African Messiah, declared Jamaica to be New World Babylon, and began referring to themselves as the "elect" and "chosen" spoken of in the Bible. Scorned and reviled during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, their representations achieved international acclaim in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s when they were carried around the world by musicians such as Bob Marley, poets such as Mutabaruka, and a cadre of Elders. The books under review here open windows on the culture history of this movement, from its formation during the interwar decades to its transformation into a global phenomenon during the post-World War II decades. The first two can be categorized as popular because they speak to a general audience about the life of Bob Marley, while the second two can be characterized as scholarly because they speak to an academic audience about issues concerning cultural analysis. There is much to learn from all and when taken as a whole they have added to a growing but loosely defined corpus known as "Rastafarian Studies."<sup>3</sup>

Bob Marley had achieved prophet-like status long before his demise in 1981. *Songs of Freedom* is a "discography" that describes the life, times, and music of the late Robert Nestor Marley. In a ritual-like inversion in keeping with the world-view (but not the practice) of Rastafari, the editors begin *Songs of Freedom* with the end (the funeral and near beatification of Marley) and move back to the beginning (his life in Trench Town). Along the way we meet Peter Tosh, Neville ("Bunny Wailer") Livingstone, Carleton Barrett, the I-threes, and Chris Blackwell, as well as Marley's family and friends. All have contributed their personal reminiscences concerning Marley and the influence of reggae and Rastafari on Jamaica and the world. Limitations of space preclude a more detailed discussion, but the testimonial by Winston Rodney ("Burning Spear") calls for elaboration. Rodney's description of his encounter with Marley, while riding a donkey along a backcountry road in the parish of St. Ann, typifies the way Rastafarians situate their life-histories within a constructed space, a seemingly fortuitous conjuncture of time and events.

Marley's "countenance" or identity has often been likened to that of the biblical David and reggae with the Psalms. Like David, Marley was able to translate the feelings and emotions of a generation into a musical form that appealed to a local and a global audience. Several songs were "chants," a form of talk-singing based on spirituals, hymns, and the Psalter. Two such songs, "Rastaman Chant" and "Babylon System," exemplify the way Marley re-worked an already re-worked form of sacral music and transformed it into a new and novel form of cultural expression. In a third song, "Time Will Tell," Marley set the issues subject to "reasoning" or debate at that time to the rhythms of reggae. It, too, opens windows on

the “vibes” and tells us much about the relation between form and content during a critically important juncture in the history of Rastafari. Marley’s music was a truly apocalyptic endeavor and *Songs of Freedom* should be read to the accompaniment of the CDs to fully appreciate the activities of a Rastafarian whose “work’s trod ert still.”

Don Taylor’s *Marley and Me* picks up where *Songs of Freedom* leaves off. Taylor, who was Marley’s manager, is less concerned with telling us about musical achievement and more with detailing, in an autobiographical style, the nuts and bolts of managing what became a heritage and a legacy. *Marley and Me* is no ordinary autobiography but recounts the intersection of two lives set within the dynamics of postwar Jamaica. As such, it describes and reveals as much about patron-client relations and life in Kingston as it does about the relationship between Taylor and Marley. No ritual inversions here. Whereas Burning Spear framed his encounter in terms of the fortuitous, Taylor was contacted by Marley because of his managerial skills. Though there was considerable alignment between the life and times of both, Taylor begins his story at the beginning, and the beginning for Taylor occurs on February 10, 1943 in Victoria Jubilee Hospital in Kingston. Like Marley, Taylor was a child of an African-European union and, like Marley, the racially charged dynamics of the time prevented him from ever encountering his father again. He fended for himself from the age of nine and produced a livelihood in the tourist industry. This is instructive. There were few opportunities for employment in Jamaica as the island underwent a shift from a plantation economy based on agriculture to an industrial economy based on tourism, mining, and manufacturing. Taylor, like Marley, drew upon entrepreneurial aspirations and turned to the entertainment industry, first in Kingston and later in the United States, where he managed Little Anthony and the Imperials. He interceded on behalf of Marley for a local performance and assumed the position of manager not long after. Unlike the editors of *Songs of Freedom*, Taylor does not describe Marley’s relationship with Chris Blackwell in glowing terms. In the remainder of the book, he provides a view of the backstage manipulations that characterized patron-client relations in the music industry and the convoluted personal relations that unfolded among Bob Marley, Rita Marley, and a host of others before and after Marley’s death. Although confessional and at times apologetic, *Marley and Me* is well worth reading for, if nothing else, its descriptions of an era gone by.

Velma Pollard’s *Dread Talk* focuses on the importance of language to Rastafari. Those who have worked with Rastafari in Jamaica and abroad will appreciate this book. Pollard, a Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Education at UWI, Mona, who has published widely on issues concerning



education and language in the Anglophone Caribbean, brings together a series of previously published (and largely unrevised) essays and academic papers concerning the verbal art of Rastafari as practiced in Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Lucia. This is a welcome addition to an extremely important domain in Rastafarian Studies. As historians and linguists have argued, Creole languages are deeply implicated in processes of resistance and accommodation. Such is the case with Rastafari. Expanding upon Cassidy's "Jamaica Talk," Pollard has invented the term "Dread Talk" and has used it to describe a way of speaking known to practitioners of Rastafari as I-yaric or I-ance. In addition to providing a descriptive term, she has sketched a history of Dread Talk, provided an orthography of sorts, described several (but not all) semantic processes at work, and discussed the relation between Dread Talk, Jamaica Talk, and language change in Jamaica and the Caribbean.

Pollard's emphasis on "la langue" (the word, lexical change, and formal analyses such as broadening and narrowing) was a suitable choice given the limitations of cassette recordings and transcripts (produced by and for someone else in another context). I-yaric, however, is a socially constituted and constituting means of communication. While *Dread Talk* has provided a solid foundation, formal analyses tend to gloss or background "la parole," the speaker-hearer dyad. This is of both methodological and theoretical importance. Language, for Rastafarians, is an arena, a site of struggle and transformation. It is necessary to pay attention to what linguistic anthropologists and ethnographers of speaking refer to as multi-vocal dialogics (the speaker-hearer dyad, and the reflexive or contrapuntal banter that distinguish the verbal art of Rastafari from ways of speaking in the non-Rastafarian speech community) if we are to understand the social basis of meaning and the various ways language, literacy, and cultural practices are implicated in processes of change.

In *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology*, Barry Chevannes discusses the activities of what can best be described as a postwar generation of Rastafarians. Chevannes, a Professor of Anthropology in the Faculty of Sociology and Social Work at UWI, Mona, is one of a handful of scholars who have long-term relationships with Rastafari. He assisted Lambros Comitas and Vera Rubin in their study of cannabis and he has published widely on issues concerning religion and society in Jamaica. The book under review here, a revised dissertation based on life-history interviews conducted during the 1970s, adds to our understanding of Rastafari in several important ways. First, the world view of Rastafari is by no means a monolithic creed. Rather than impose an artificial uniformity on a diversity of ideas and beliefs, Chevannes's stated purpose is to explore "continuity

rather than break, ideas rather than action, and culture rather than politics" (p. xi). Second, reliance on participant observation and cultural description balances earlier work that leaned heavily on second-person accounts and printed materials such as newspapers and colonial documents. Third, Chevannes is less concerned with narrative, as such, than with reproducing the way his interlocutors have experienced the events that unfolded during the interwar and postwar decades.

Chevannes frames his text with a prefatory chapter that situates Rastafari, and his research, in a history of resistance. Building upon the work of Monica Schuler and Kamau Brathwaite, Chevannes has outlined and abstracted four thematic phases (Pre-Christian Period, Period of Christian Evangelization, The Pan-Africanism Period, The Period of Rastafari) in a tradition of slave rebellions and maroon wars that date to the seventeenth century. He then proceeds to recount the life-histories of various individuals (using quoted or reported speech) and to discuss their relationship to changes within and between Rastafari and the larger society. He concludes with a postscript that discusses current issues and trends as Rastafari has embarked on an international phase.

Leaving aside disclaimers concerning the value of oral testimony, the decision to let local folk speak for themselves serves as a corrective to accounts that have depicted the interwar decades in terms of numerical equations and abstract political theory. In Chapter 2, "The Uprooting," we read the how, when, and why as recounted by people who lived through those events: how global events affected local households, why people picked up, and when they moved to Kingston. This is an artful and clever use of reported speech.

Similarly, the literature often speaks about Rastafari in terms of a unitary "movement," but the process of formation and consensus was contested and uneven rather than unilineal or continuous. In Chapters 3 and 4, Chevannes discusses how "missions" formed in "yards" and "camps" in Back-of-Wall and elsewhere. In a process of fragmentation, local groups debated issues of belief and practice (between Revival and Rastafari), broke with existing leaders (such as Howell), and formed separate but related organizations dispersed throughout Kingston. It was out of this tension (a dialectic of discussion and debate, formation and transformation in spatial and ritual relations within and between Rastafari and the larger society) that camps became "houses," social and political aggregations known by such names as Boboshanti, Youth Black Faith, and Nyabingi. These were not utopian organizations, and resistance was by no means confined to a "spiritual or mystical plane" (p. 164). Although Chevannes has privileged "ideas rather than action" and "culture rather than poli-

tics," his discussion of the rupture between "combsomes" and "dreadlocks" in Chapters 5 and 6, ritual and language in Chapter 8, and repatriation and divinization in Chapter 9 would suggest the opposite: ideas are action, culture is politics.

*Rastafari: Roots and Ideology* is a major contribution to the field but there are a few minor points that need clarification. For example, while phases and periods provide a framework, they tend to mask and level diversity. In addition to "proto-Rastafarian" groups, it must be recalled that European missionaries (Moravian Brethren) were also active, and it was during what Chevannes has defined as a "Pre-Christian Period" that biblical texts, epistolary literature, and contesting interpretations (of diaspora, identity, etc.) were broached.

Similarly, neither Moses Baker nor George Liele were "slaves" in the standard sense of the term. Although a minor point, it is well worth mentioning, given the nature of their activities in pre-1838 slave society and their influence on the formation of Afro-Christianity or "Native-Baptists" during "The Period of Christian Evangelization." Moses Baker and his family were born into the free black community in New York City, while George Liele was manumitted in Georgia. Both were part of a Black loyalist diaspora that followed the American Revolution.<sup>4</sup> They drafted a charter, established a network of religious associations (Ethiopian Anabaptist Society of Jamaica), and codified a discourse, a way of reading, and a form of biblical interpretation. Our understanding of "roots" would have benefited had Chevannes explored points of rupture and connection (e.g., divinity, exegesis, and oral testimony) between such residual and alternate, dominant and emergent formations.<sup>5</sup>

Although Chevannes is correct in exploring theoretical foundations, it is unclear how our understanding of theory and practice has been advanced by the way he has employed the concepts of "pre-capitalist relations" and "false consciousness." The utility of these concepts is a much contested issue and, given the discussion of Africa in Chapter 1, exchange-value in Chapter 2, and the tension between religious and political ideologies in Chapter 5, their deployment has taken little notice of current debate or theoretical presuppositions.

Minor points aside, all four books are significant contributions to the culture history of Rastafari. In addition to opening windows on the other half of the story, they have set the stage for the next generation of practitioners, dread and nondread, popular and scholarly, who will pursue the story at home in Jamaica and abroad in Africa, Europe, and North America.

## NOTES

1. For discussion of the curse of Ham, see Felder 1991:130-33 and Jordan 1969:17-19.
2. Barrett 1982:214 provides a census of official and unofficial religions in Jamaica.
3. Bilby 1983, 1985 and Yawney 1995 offer similar understandings of Rastafarian Studies as a corpus of popular and scholarly texts.
4. Pulis 1997 discusses Moses Baker, George Liele, and the black American diaspora to Jamaica.
5. See Williams 1977: Ch. 8 for "dominant," "residual," and "emergent."

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## COOKS' DAY OFF

After dishing out consecutive meals of pepper-pot, callaloo, rundown, migan, sancocho, and coo-coo, the *NWIG* bookcooks are weary and beg a respite. All else is here as usual; the only thing that's missing is the culinary metaphor.

Once again it is our sad duty to publish the year's Caribbeanist Hall of Shame. As always, we list those books that (as of press time, January 1997) have not been reviewed because the scholars who agreed to the task have – despite reminder letters – neither provided a text nor relinquished the books so that they could be assigned to someone else. (Rather than listing delinquent reviewers by initials alone as in the past, we indicate both initial and final letters here, in an attempt to forestall false accusations and protect the reputations of the innocent.) As in past years, these paragraphs may serve as a kind of backlist “books received.”

We regret our inability to publish a review article by S—n J—s-H—n covering four books on development economics: *Jamaica: Debt and Poverty* (Oxford: Oxfam, 1992, paper n.p.), by Claremont Kirton; *Financing Development in the Commonwealth Caribbean* (London: Macmillan, 1991, cloth US\$ 13.95), edited by Deslie Worrell, Compton Bourne & Dinesh Dodhia; *Caribbean Economic Development: The First Generation* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1993, paper n.p.), edited by Stanley Lalta & Marie Freckleton; and *Public Finance in Small Open Economies: The Caribbean Experience* (Westport CT: Praeger, 1992, cloth US\$ 45.00), by Michael Howard. Nor do we have the review article on medical anthropology promised by P—l E. B—n that was to include *The Blessings of Motherhood: Health, Pregnancy and Child Care in Dominica* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1994, paper NLG 47.50), by Anja Krumeich; *Disability and Rehabilitation in Rural Jamaica: An Ethnographic Study* (Ruther-

ford NJ: Fairleigh Dickenson University Press, 1992, cloth US\$ 39.50), by Ronnie Linda Leavitt; and *Healing the Masses: Cuban Health Politics at Home and Abroad* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, cloth US\$ 45.00), by Julie M. Feinsilver. We are also missing the long-awaited review by C—e B—f of six books on contemporary Cuba: *Fidel! Castro's Political and Social Thought* (Boulder CO: Westview, 1994, cloth US\$ 60.00, paper US\$ 18.95), by Sheldon B. Liss; *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course, and Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, paper US\$ 14.95), by Marifeli Pérez-Stable; *Back from the Future: Cuba under Castro* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 39.50), by Susan Eva Eckstein; *Return to Havana: The Decline of Cuban Society under Castro* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 19.95), by Maurice Halperin; *Fidel Castro and the Quest for a Revolutionary Culture in Cuba* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 35.00, paper US\$ 14.95), by Julie Marie Bunck; and *Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 30.00), by Thomas G. Paterson. And E—n S—I has never completed her review article on four books concerning the South Asian diaspora in the Caribbean: *Les Indes Antillaises: Présence et situation des communautés indiennes en milieu caribéen* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1994, paper FF 140.00), edited by Roger Toumson; *Survivors of Another Crossing: A History of East Indians in Trinidad, 1880-1946* (St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: U.W.I. School of Continuing Education, 1994, paper n.p.), by Marianne D. Soares Ramesar; *Transients to Settlers: The Experience of Indians in Jamaica 1845-1950* (Leeds, UK: Peepal Tree Books, 1993, paper £12.95), by Verene Shepherd; and *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995, cloth US\$ 32.95, paper US\$ 15.95), by Peter van der Veer.

Three double reviews have failed to materialize. P—r D—d F—r has not come through on *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered* (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992, cloth n.p.), edited by Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch & Cristina Blanc-Szanton, and *Explanation in Caribbean Migration. Perception and the Image: Jamaica, Barbados, St. Vincent* (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1992, paper £14.95), by Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope. Nor has P—r L—h completed his assessment of *The Horrors of Slavery and Other Writings by Robert Wedderburn* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1991, cloth US\$ 34.95, paper US\$ 14.95), edited by Iain McCalman, and *Black Atlantic Writers of the 18th Century: Living*

*the New Exodus in England and the Americas* (London: Macmillan and New York: St. Martin's, 1995, cloth US\$ 39.95, paper US\$ 16.95), edited by Adam Potkay & Sandra Burr. The same must be said of K—h A—n S—e, who had agreed to review *The Primordial Image: African, Afro-American and Caribbean Mythopoetic Text* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993, cloth US\$ 63.95), by Ikenna Dieke, and *Self and Colonial Desire: Travel Writings of V.S. Naipaul* (New York: Peter Lang 1993, cloth US\$ 45.95), by Wimal Dissanayake & Carmen Wickramagamage.

Reviews of single books that have not been turned in include those on *Famiri Nanga Kulturu: Creoolse sociale verhoudingen en Winti in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1992, paper NLG 37.50) by Tijno Venema [L—o S—e]; *Santo Domingo y el Caribe: Ensayos sobre historia y sociedad* (Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1994, paper US\$ 14.00), by Harry Hoetink [M—l A. V—s]; *'The Killing Time': The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica* (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1994, paper £13.95), by Gad Heuman [D—n R—m]; *Ik ben een gouden munt, ik ga door vele handen, maar verlies mijn waarde niet: Subjectiviteit en seksualiteit van Creolse volksklasse vrouwen in Paramaribo* (Amsterdam: Feministische Uitgeverij, 1994, paper NLG 44.50), by Gloria Wekker [E—a W—e]; *De geest van de Waraku: Kritieken over Surinaamse literatuur* (Haarlem: Zuid, 1993, paper NLG 35.00), by Michiel van Kempen [A—t B—k]; *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993, paper US\$ 12.00), by Anthony Pagden [J—y K—p]; *Come Back to Me My Language: Poetry and the West Indies* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, cloth US\$ 44.95, paper US\$ 15.95), by J. Edward Chamberlin [V—r C—g]; *Eric E. Williams Speaks: Essays on Colonialism and Independence* (Wellesley MA: Calaloux Publications, 1993, cloth US\$ 45.00, paper US\$ 16.95), edited by Selwyn R. Cudjoe [P—l S—n]; *A Question of Labour: Indentured Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana 1875-1917* (London: James Currey, 1994, paper £35.00), by K. O. Laurence [M—i K—e]; and *Con valor y a como dé lugar: Memorias de una jíbara puertorriqueña* (San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1994, paper US\$ 13.95), by Carmen Luisa Justiniano [M—a G—a-C—n].

Jean Stubbs, writing that her review of books on Cuban international relations had "slipped through a two-year net" while she was busy with other matters, had the courtesy to offer their return; it seems best at this point simply to list the six books here: *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-1963* (New York: Edward Burlingame, 1991, cloth US\$ 29.95), by Michael R. Beschloss; *The Shattered Crystal Ball: Fear and*

*Learning in the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Savage MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1992, paper US\$ 14.95), by James G. Blight; *The Missiles of October: The Declassified Story of John F. Kennedy and the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: Simon & Schuster, paper US\$ 14.00), by Robert Smith Thompson; *"Everything Within the Revolution": Cuban Strategies for Social Development Since 1960* (Boulder CO: Westview, 1993, paper US\$ 46.50), by Thomas C. Dalton; *Cuba after the Cold War* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993, cloth US\$ 49.95, paper US\$ 19.95), edited by Carmelo Mesa-Lago; and *The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited* (New York: St. Martin's, 1992, cloth US\$ 17.95), edited by James A. Nathan.

Although we solicited reviews from five Haitianists in succession, over a several-year period, none agreed to take on *In the Parish of the Poor: Writings from Haiti* (Maryknoll NY: Orbis, 1991, paper US\$ 12.00), by Jean-Bertrand Aristide, *Jean-Bertrand Aristide: An Autobiography* (Maryknoll NY: Orbis, 1993, cloth US\$ 18.00), by Jean-Bertrand Aristide with Christophe Wargny, *The Catholic Church in Haiti: Political and Social Change* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1993, cloth US\$ 28.95), by Anne Greene, *Politics or Markets? Essays on Haitian Underdevelopment* (London: Routledge, 1992, cloth £60.00), by Mats Lundahl, or *La République haïtienne: État de lieux et perspectives* (Paris: ADEC-Karthala, 1995, n.p.), edited by Gérard Barthélemy & Christian Girault. And none of the several people we asked was interested in reviewing Norman Girvan's *Working Together for Development: D.T.M. Girvan on Cooperatives and Community Development 1939-1968* (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica Publications, 1993, cloth n.p.), a compilation of his father's pioneering work about community development and nation-building from the 1930s to independence, or *Beyond the Tourist Trap: A Study of Sint Maarten Culture* (Amsterdam: Foundation for Scientific Research in the Caribbean Region, 1995, paper NLG 45.00), by M. P. Sypkens Smit, perhaps because – despite the massive recent development of the island – the book is based largely on twenty-year-old research, lending it a distinctly antiquarian flavor. German-language works for which we could not find reviewers include *Lateinamerika in der Politik der europäischen Mächte: 1492-1810* (Köln: Böhlau, 1993, paper DM 19.80), by Günter Kahle, which covers the Caribbean only peripherally, and *Kann Selbsthilfe-Wohnungsbau sozial sein? Erfahrungen aus Cuba und anderen Ländern Lateinamerikas* (Hamburg: LIT, 1993, paper DM 38.80), by Kosta Mathéy, much of which is devoted to housing problems in Cuba. And none of the several reviewers we solicited wanted to do *Black Ivory: The History of British Slavery* (London: HarperCollins,



1992 and Washington DC: Howard University Press, 1994, paper US\$ 19.95), by James Walvin, a curiously synthetic work written in popular language, whose narrative power is limited by its focus on British slavery.

We turn now to other recent publications which, for a variety of other reasons, are not being given full reviews.

Two recent reprints are particularly welcome: Barry Higman's classics, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica 1807-1834* and the nearly 800-page *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean 1807-1834*, have been reissued by The Press - University of the West Indies (both printed in 1995 and bargain-priced at US\$ 12.00 and US\$ 28.00, respectively); they should be part of every Caribbeanist's library. David Nicholls's *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti* (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1996, paper £13.95) has been reissued with a lengthy new "Preface to the third edition" by the author, which must be one of the last pieces he wrote before his death. An excellent new bilingual edition has been published of Juan Francisco Manzano's *Autobiography of a Slave / Autobiografía de un esclavo* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996, cloth US\$ 34.95, paper US\$ 16.95) with a useful introduction by Ivan A. Schulman. An equally important edition of *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993, paper US\$ 10.95) has appeared, with an incisive introduction by Moira Ferguson. We note also a reprint of a classroom reader first published five years ago: *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and Society from Emancipation to the Present. A Student Reader* (Princeton: Marcus Wiener; London: James Curry; Kingston: Ian Randle, 1996, paper n.p.), edited by Hilary Beckles & Verene Shepherd. And there's a timely reprint of Hans Schmidt's 1971 study, *The United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995, paper US\$ 15.95).

*White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995, paper US\$ 20.00), by Jan Nederveen Pieterse, is the translation of a 1990 Dutch exhibition catalog that combines visual and verbal images in tracing the history of stereotyping. Lennox Honychurch's *The Dominica Story: A History of the Island* (London: Macmillan, 1995, paper £6.95) has appeared in a third edition, with the chapters on the island's pre-Columbian past and its recent history entirely rewritten. *Amerindians, Africans, Americans ... Three Papers in Caribbean History* (Kingston: Canoe Press, 1996, paper US\$ 18.00), by Gérard Lafleur, Susan Branson & Grace Turner, is the second edition of a slim volume more notable for its conception than for its contents - it consists of three papers presented at the 1992 Association of

Caribbean Historians conference printed first in English, then in Spanish, then in French. *Cold War Exile: The Unclosed Case of Maurice Halperin* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1995, cloth US\$ 29.95), by Don S. Kirschner, contains a chapter on Halperin's Cuban stay, including discussion of the research of his friends, Oscar and Ruth Lewis. *La arquitectura de templos parroquiales de Puerto Rico/Architecture of Parish Churches in Puerto Rico* (San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1994, cloth US\$ n.p.), by Thomas S. Marvel & Maria Luisa Moreno, the second edition of a 1984 bilingual book by an architect and an architectural historian, is graced with lavish photos and drawings. *Peppers: The Domesticated Capsicums* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995, cloth US\$ 65.00), by Jean Andrews, is an expanded edition of the bountifully illustrated 1984 work, adding a page on the Scotch Bonnet variety so prized by Caribbean dwellers. *You Alone Are Dancing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996, paper US\$ 13.95), the prize-winning first novel by Trinidadian Brenda Flanagan, originally published in England by Peepal Tree Press in 1990, is a welcome addition to Michigan's growing list in Caribbean literature. *Black + Blues* (New York: New Directions, 1995, paper US\$ 9.95), by Kamau Brathwaite, is thoroughly revised from the 1976 Casa de Las Americas version, with many of the poems now appearing in the author's "video style" typography. And Richard Price's *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, paper US\$ 16.95) has been reissued in a twenty-fifth anniversary edition with a substantive new preface.

We note several new volumes on architecture, art, and artifact. Two stunning books feature Puerto Rican graphic art: Antonio Martorell's *el libro dibujado / el dibujo librado* (Cayey & New York: Ediciones Envergadura, 1995) is pure joy, and Teresa Tió's catalogue, *El portafolios en la gráfica Puertorriqueña* (XI Bienal de San Juan del Grabado Latinoamericano y del Caribe, paper, 1995), presents the best of the island's graphic work during the past half-century. *Tracing the Spirit: Ethnographic Essays on Haitian Art from the Collection of the Davenport Museum of Art* (Davenport IA: Davenport Museum of Art, in association with the University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1995, paper US\$ 29.95), by Karen McCarthy Brown, is more than a catalog; it includes interviews with artists and an illustrated essay on the wall murals that suddenly appeared in October 1994 to herald Aristide's return. The UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History declined to send us a review copy of the lavish 445-page catalogue edited by Donald J. Cosentino, *Sacred Arts of Haitian Vodou* (paper US\$ 59.00), so we simply mention that tome here

for the record. *Twintig jaar beeldende kunst in Suriname, 1975-1995 / Twenty Years of Visual Art in Suriname, 1975-1995* (Amsterdam: KIT Press, 1995, paper NLG 24.90), edited by Chandra van Binnendijk & Paul Faber, includes informative texts in English and Dutch that complement an excellent catalog of 100 color illustrations, prepared for the inaugural exhibition in the reopened Suriname Museum at Fort Zeelandia. *Van Punt en Snoa: Ontstaan en groei van Willemstad, Curaçao vanaf 1634, De Willemstad tussen 1700 en 1732 en de bouwgeschiedenis van de synagoge Mikvé Israël-Emanuel 1730-1732* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Aldus, 1994, cloth NLG 58.00), by Bernard R. Buddingh', is a painstaking reconstruction of the architectural growth and social history of Willemstad, focusing on the eighteenth century and the building of its most imposing structure, the Sephardic synagogue Mikvé Israël-Emanuel. From finely-carved commode chairs and canopied beds to mahogany marble-topped tables, the heavily illustrated *Furniture from Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire: Three Centuries of Dutch Caribbean Craftsmanship* (Zutphen, Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 1995, cloth NLG 69.50), by Georgette E. Nije-Statius van Eps, documents how the better-off furnished their homes, and contains useful information on the furniture-makers. *The Monuments of Saba: The Island of Saba, a Caribbean Example* (Zutphen, Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 1995, cloth NLG 49.50), by Frans H. Brugman, is a scholarly historical survey, with a preservationist agenda, covering local architecture from the simplest dwellings to the Anglican church. *Het Fort op de Berg: Gedenkboek bij het tweehonderdjarig bestaan van Fort Nassau op Curaçao* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1996, cloth NLG 39.90), by J. Hartog, is a justly slim commemorative volume chronicling the history of the fort, from the groundworks in 1796 to the visit of Princess Beatrix and Prince Claus, who ate lunch there in 1965.

Several bibliographies have come our way, though in these days of the Internet their utility may already be questionable. Marian Goslinga's *A Bibliography of the Caribbean* (Lanham MD: The Scarecrow Press, 1995, cloth US\$ 79.00), the most ambitious of the lot, is explicitly intended to continue the work begun by Lambros Comitas in *The Complete Caribbeana 1900-1975*. It contains 3600 unannotated entries – historical materials listed by century, reference materials by format, contemporary works by broad topic – all indexed by author, title, and geography. Non-fiction books in English, from the beginnings to 1992, are given preference. The entry for *NWIG* lists its previous publisher and sponsor and reverses its English/Dutch title to Dutch/English. Criteria for inclusion are not always clear: the 1992 abridgment/modernization of Stedman's *Narrative* is included but not the far more important 1988 critical edition on which it

was based. This is very much a librarian's – rather than a scholar's – set of categories, dependent on Library of Congress-type rubrics: Wilson's *Crab Antics* and Rodney's *The Groundings with my Brothers*, for example, are listed under "Minorities, Afro-Caribbeans," as if it were reasonable for Caribbeanists to view Afro-Providentians or Afro-Jamaicans as "minorities." And a number of major Caribbeanist books are nowhere to be found, for example Mintz's *Sweetness and Power*.

Four more Caribbean volumes in the Clio World Bibliographic Series, "principally designed for the English speaker," have appeared, all with annotations and generally useful subject categories. *Antigua and Barbuda* (Oxford: ABC-Clio, 1995, cloth US\$ 67.00), compiled by Riva Berleant-Schiller & Susan Lowes with Milton Benjamin, is scholarly and fair, but opinionated, and overall provides a lively, substantive introduction to the whole range of literature on these unequal sister islands. *Martinique* (Oxford: ABC-Clio, 1995, cloth US\$ 55.00), compiled by Janet Crane, a geographer currently enrolled in a graduate school of theology, includes French-language works, but the map listing "the most important towns" omits one of the largest (Le François) as well the sous-préfecture of Le Marin and substitutes the *quartier* of Grande-Anse for the *bourg* of Anses d'Arlet. The author's claim that "the overwhelming majority of Martiniquans now expect to go to France to study, work, or learn a trade" (xvi) is based solely on a questionnaire study of 138 teenage students published in 1983, and her claim that "Martinique remains under-researched" (xxix) may be put in perspective by the current joke that there are now two signs at Immigration: "Anthropologists" and "Others." And, against all evidence, she asserts that *békés* are "an overstudied group" (xxvii). Though understanding that the great bulk of Martiniquan tourism comes from France, she does not cite any of the major French guidebooks to the island. Indeed, there's a random, veering quality to the selections, whether anthropological, historical, or literary. Little recent work is here, despite the outpourings by Martiniquan, French, and other scholars and journalists on every aspect of local life. And there's not a single word about such Martiniquan literary stars as Patrick Chamoiseau or Raphaël Confiant. Under "Periodicals," nine are listed, not a single one published in or particularly concerned with Martinique (as opposed to the Caribbean more generally). One imagines that any of the dozen or so U.S. Ph.D. students who have been working in Martinique during the past few years could have done a better job. *St. Kitts-Nevis* (Oxford: ABC-Clio, 1995, cloth US\$ 62.00), compiled by Verna Penn Moll, a Virgin Islands former librarian, is at best spotty. Under "folklore," for example, there is no mention of Roger Abrahams (whose name is absent from the bibliography),

surely one of the most important folklorists of the Caribbean, much of whose fieldwork and publications centered on Nevis as well as St. Kitts. *St. Lucia* (Oxford: ABC-Clio, 1996, cloth US\$ 62.00), is compiled by Janet Henshall Momsen, a geographer who is a frequent visitor. Her entries on St. Lucian Creole do not include the only major dictionary of the language (Mondesir's 1992 621-page volume), but overall the work is serious.

Jo Derkx's *Netherlands Antilles and Aruba: A Bibliography 1980-1995* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996, paper NLG 50.00) is a thorough 4000+ item listing intended to complement Gerard Nagelkerke's 1980 compilation, which covered works from the seventeenth century to 1980. It includes books (monographs, novels, poetry, children's literature), articles, dissertations, and conference papers.

A slew of guidebooks have landed on our desks, almost all pedestrian. The trend seems toward an upscale market – perhaps the cruise ships take care of the rest. *Frommer's Bed and Breakfasts in the Caribbean* (New York: Macmillan Travel, 1995, paper US\$ 16.00), by Lucy Poshek, for example, features glossy photos reminiscent of the well-known *Caribbean Style*, and *Caribbean Connoisseur* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995, paper US\$ 17.99), by Michele Evans, covers much the same coffee-table territory. Or again, there's *Frommer's Caribbean Hideaways* (New York: Macmillan Travel, 1995, paper US\$ 15.95), by Ian Keown, intended "to give you and your special someone ... that perfect island getaway – a beachfront bungalow with a hammock for two, a fabulous resort on an unspoiled beach, an intimate plantation-style inn ... maybe your own secluded island," but by this seventh edition perhaps the reader won't be alone in having "discovered" these "romantic island inns ... usually revealed by word of mouth." In general, the listed hotels aren't for the budget traveler – you and your very special someone will be set back \$300-400 for a single night's stay in these guidebooks' favorite Martiniquan retreat. There are few surprises in *Fodor's 97 Caribbean* (New York: Fodor's Travel Publications, 1996, paper, US\$ 18.50) or *Fodor's Affordable Caribbean* (New York: Fodor's Travel Publications, 1995 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, paper, US\$ 16.50), which seems to be a knock-off of the more general book; it provides the names of hotels and restaurants and such factoids as "Many Martinicans speak Creole, a mixture of Spanish and French." *Fodor's Exploring the Caribbean* (New York: Fodor's Travel Publications, 1996 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, paper, US\$ 19.95) adds a few cultural and historical pages – "Focus on Rastas," "Focus on Spices," "Focus on Caribbean music" – well-meaning soundbites mixed into the standard medley. *Frommer's 96 Caribbean* (New York: Macmillan, 1995, paper US\$ 18.95), by Darwin Porter assisted by Danforth Prince, is the usual

telephone-book-like compendium, with highly selective, more or less correct information on hotels, restaurants, and beaches; we enjoyed learning that our own favorite late-afternoon walk takes place on one of the ten "best beaches in the Caribbean." We feel compelled to point out, however, that the beach at Diamant, which Porter claims is "bright white" and "stretches for 6.5 miles," has been the repeated subject of Édouard Glissant's attentions (*Poétique de la relation*, 1990) precisely because of its seasonal oscillations between volcanic black and brightest white, and that its length, which we stroll down and back in an hour, is closer to a third that claimed by the guidebook.

Several niche-ier travel books. *Great Caribbean Family Vacations*, by Laura Sutherland (New York: St Martin's Griffin, 1995, paper US\$ 12.95), tells how to vacation in the Caribbean with American children in tow – on cruise ships or on land. The main curiosity of *Insight Guides Caribbean: The Lesser Antilles* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996, paper US\$ 22.95), edited by David Schwab, is the long historical introduction provided a decade ago for the first edition by Gordon Lewis, and brief sections by Maryse Condé, Neil Bissandooth, and Ian Randle; it's a tad more literary, and more ironic, than most of the island guidebooks, though it too is sprinkled with howlers. Even niche-ier, *A Birder's West Indies: An Island-by-Island Tour* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996, cloth US\$ 40.00, paper US\$ 19.95), by Roland H. Wauer, is a serious book for devoted bird watchers.

*Guide to Cuba* (Old Saybrook CT: The Globe Pequot Press, 1995, paper US\$ 14.95), by Stephen Fallon, covers the island province by province, with up-to-date, detailed information on hotels, restaurants, and sights. Globe Pequot also distributes the more summary but otherwise similar *Cuba-Globetrotter Travel Guide* (London: New Holland, 1996, paper US\$ 9.95), by Andy Gravette. Meanwhile, *Cuba in Focus: A Guide to the People, Politics and Culture* (London: Latin America Bureau, 1995, paper £5.99), by Emily Hatchwell & Simon Calder, though it has nothing on hotels or beaches, provides a good introduction to social life and history – the sort of thing every casual visitor should read.

From Cadogan Island Guides (London: Cadogan Books), James Henderson's *The Southeastern Caribbean: The Windward Islands* (1994, paper, £9.99) and *Jamaica & the Cayman Islands* (1996, paper £10.99) tout their "all-important sections on beach-bound Caribbean life" but include a lot of other standard tourist fare as well. Both *Guide to Belize* (Old Saybrook CT: Globe Pequot Press, 1994, paper US\$ 15.95 [first published 1988]), by Alex Bradbury, and *Belize Handbook* (Chico CA: Moon Publications, 1995, paper US\$ 15.95 [first published 1991]), by

Chicki Mallan, exude the friendly, low-pressure feel of Belize tourism; each has its strong points but Bradbury's is more often on target about matters cultural and historical.

We've seen three genuine travel books, as opposed to mere guides. In *Een Surinaamse ballade: 'Wel de snack maar niet de saus'* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1995, paper NLG 49.50), writer Anil Ramdas and photographer Fred van Dijk recount a road trip from east to west, as part of a filmmaking project; this bittersweet account, whose photos as well as text drip with irony, might be seen as a more affectionate, equatorial version of Jamaica Kincaid's *A Small Place*. In *Kapotte plantage: Suriname, een Hollandse erfenis* (Amsterdam: Balans, 1995, paper, NLG 35.00), journalist John Jansen van Galen collects articles he's written for Dutch newspapers during the past twenty-five years tracing the somber history of Suriname's decline since independence. *The Weather Prophet: A Caribbean Journey* (London: Vintage, 1996, paper, £6.99), by Lucretia Stewart, though fixated on the Fanonesque theme of black Caribbean men's predilections for white women (in Sparrow's inimitable prose, "He cook up one and he eat one raw, Them taste so good he wanted more") is one woman's account of a couple of eventful months bumming around the Lesser Antilles.

A number of recent books, though devoted mainly to other topics, contain materials on the Caribbean. *Monsters, Tricksters, and Sacred Cows: Animal Tales and American Identities* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996, cloth US\$ 45.00), edited by A. James Arnold, includes several essays on Afro-Caribbean tales, one on Caribbean Hindu mythology, and an afterword by Derek Walcott. *"We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible": A Reader in Black Women's History* (Brooklyn NY: Carlson Publishing, 1995, paper US\$ 24.95), edited by Darlene Clark Hine, Wilma King & Linda Reed, has three brief essays on the region. Judie Newman's richly textured *The Ballistic Bard: Postcolonial Fictions* (London: Arnold, 1995, cloth US\$ 49.95, paper US\$ 16.95) counts V. S. Naipaul and Jean Rhys among those postcolonial writers who participate in what she sees as a particularly subversive form of intertextuality. In *Cinemas of the Black Diaspora: Diversity, Dependence, and Oppositionality* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996, cloth US\$ 49.95, paper US\$ 19.95), edited by Michael T. Martin, some 40 pages out of more than 500 cover the Caribbean, mainly the French Antilles and Cuba. And three of the thirteen chapters in *Subversive Women: Women's Movements in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean* (London: Zed Books, 1995, cloth US\$ 59.95, paper US\$ 22.50), edited by Saskia Wieringa, deal with the (Anglophone) Caribbean. *The Reordering of Culture: Latin America, The Caribbean and Canada in the Hood* (Ottawa: Carleton

University Press, 1995, paper n.p.), a large collection of diverse essays in English and French edited by Alvina Ruprecht & Cecilia Taiana, celebrates the development of a "new American neighborhood," stressing the interconnectedness of cultural production and the expression of shifting identities throughout the Americas. *De boomstam en de krokodil: Kwesties van ras, cultuur en wetenschap* (Amsterdam: Van Genneep, 1995, paper NLG 42.90), by Mineke Schipper, is mainly concerned with African writers but makes brief trans-Atlantic excursions to Suriname and the French Antilles. *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996, paper US\$ 15.95), a fine collection edited by Jonathan D. Hill, contains Caribbeanist essays by Kenneth Bilby, Neil Whitehead, and Susan Staats. "Return" in *Post-Colonial Writing: A Cultural Labyrinth* (Amsterdam & Atlanta GA: Rodopi, 1994, paper NLG 60.00, US\$ 40.00), edited by Vera Mikhailovich-Dickman, which treats works by Salman Rushdie and various South African and Australian writers, also explores Caribbean texts through essays by Wilson Harris, Olive Senior, and others. In *The Island as Site of Resistance: An Examination of Caribbean and New Zealand Texts* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995, cloth US\$ 45.95), Dorothy F. Lane's Caribbean attentions focus on work by Jean Rhys, Phyllis Shand Allfrey, John Hearne, and Derek Walcott. *Snow on the Cane Fields: Women's Writing and Subjectivity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996, paper US\$ 19.95), by Judith L. Raitskin, is a more theoretically ambitious exploration of four Creole women writers, two from South Africa plus Jean Rhys and Michelle Cliff, "pursuing a feminist approach to questions of national, political, and racial identity." Sidney W. Mintz's essays in *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996, cloth US\$ 22.00), though intended for a general non-Caribbeanist readership, draw inevitably on his island experiences. Finally, a recent work about maroon societies in Brazil, *Liberdade por um fio: Historia dos quilombos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996, paper n.p.), edited by João José Reis & Flávio dos Santos Gomes, contains important comparative materials for Caribbeanists.

We've seen several contributions to the study of Caribbean musics. *Music and Black Ethnicity: The Caribbean and South America* (Coral Gables FL: North-South Center, University of Miami, 1994, paper US\$ 24.95), edited by Gerard H. Béhague, is an excellent collection of papers first presented at a 1992 conference: the Caribbean chapters cover music and identity in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Haiti. We've received two contributions to Suriname music history and performance. *Surinam: Kaseko Music Melodies* (Delft: Ronald Snijders, 1996,



paper n.p.), by Ronald Snijders, presents 180 kaseko melodies spanning the twentieth century, in musical notation, with Dutch and English commentary. And *Kid Dynamite: De legende leeft* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Jan Mets, 1995, paper NLG 22.50), by Herman Openneer, is devoted to one of Suriname's music greats, the versatile jazzman Kid Dynamite, whose life, from the 1930s "Negro clubs" of Amsterdam to his pioneering role in "world music" in the 1950s, reveals much about the social history of the Netherlands. And in *Bob Marley: Spirit Dancer* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995, cloth US\$ 35.00), photographer Bruce W. Talamon presents an album of vivid black-and-white images.

Three conference volumes have come to our attention. *Born out of Resistance: On Caribbean Cultural Creativity* (Utrecht: ISOR Publications, n.d. [1996], paper NLG 49.00), edited by Wim Hoogbergen, presents – after a very poorly translated introduction – a sometimes rewarding but on the whole inconsistent collection of thirty-eight brief papers, in several languages, from a 1992 conference. *Jamaica: Preparing for the Twenty-First Century* (Kingston: Ian Randle for the Planning Institute of Jamaica, 1994, cloth n.p.), edited by Patsy Lewis, collects papers from another 1992 conference. *The Future Status of Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles* (Oranjestad, Aruba: Fundacion Pa Informacion y Investigacion, 1994, paper n.p.), edited by Armando Lampe, is based on a 1994 conference, and includes a useful bibliography.

A number of lexicographic studies should be mentioned. Naomi Glock and the Summer Institute of Linguistics have produced the excellent 366-page *Holansi-Saamaka Wöutubuku (Nederlands-Saramaccaans Woordenboek)* (Paramaribo: Evangelische Broedergemeente, 1996, paper n.p.), a unidirectional dictionary from Dutch to Saramaccan that has been several decades in the making. The *Woordenlijst / Wordlist: Sranan-Nederlands, Nederlands-Sranan, English-Sranan. Met een lijst van planten- en diernamen / With a list of plant and animal names* (Paramaribo: VACO, 1995, paper n.p.), compiled by the Stichting Volkslectuur Suriname, is the third edition of this important though still incomplete work. In *Papiaments beginnerscursus: Dòspak'i boka* (Zutphen, Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 1994, paper NLG 89.50), Florimon van Putte & Igma van Putte-de Windt present a practical course, complete with a cassette, for Dutch people wishing to learn Papiamentu. An important volume for language historians – *Criolisches Wörterbuch [1767/68]*, by Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorp, edited by Peter Stein, with *Vestindisk Glossarium*, by "J.C. Kingo," edited by Hein van der Voort (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1996, paper DM 128) – presents what may be the earliest Creole dictionary, Oldendorp's 1767/68 work on Neger-hollands compiled in the Danish West Indies, and

a contemporary Danish-Neger-hollands glossary; the modern introductions and analyses are in German. *Language Reclamation: French Creole Language Teaching in the UK and the Caribbean* (Clevedon UK: Multilingual Matters, 1996, cloth US\$ 49.00), by Hubisi Nwenmely, concerns the roughly 15,000 people in the United Kingdom who have origins in Dominica and St. Lucia and the attempts to reverse the loss of Creole through special classes for their children. In the foreword to their new edition of Maurice Barbotin's *Dictionnaire du créole de Marie-Galante* (Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1995, paper DM 78.00), Annegret Bolée and Robert Chaudenson successfully justify their decision to publish it in its original form. In a related work of sociolinguistics, *Langues et société aux Antilles: Saint-Martin* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1994, paper FF 95.00), Pierre Martinez analyzes "the complex diglossia" of the French side of Saint-Martin, where vernacular "island" English is the first language of most people, French the language of the state and education, and standard English a second (or third) language for many residents.

We note a number of miscellaneous social science works. Malcolm Cross's dissertation for the University of Utrecht, *Ethnic Pluralism and Racial Inequality: A Comparison of Colonial and Industrial Societies* (Utrecht: European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations, 1994, paper n.p.), reworks a number of his previously published articles on the nature of inequality in Trinidad, Guyana, and the United Kingdom. *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain* (New York: Verso, 1993, cloth US\$ 59.95, paper US\$ 18.95), edited by Winston James & Clive Harris, is a fine collection of engagé essays. In *Alternatives to Independence: Explorations in Post-Colonial Relations* (Aldershot UK: Dartmouth, 1995, cloth US\$ 62.95), Helen M. Hintjens adds another to her publications about the "specialness" of French cases of decolonization-by-integration, treating Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guyane among her examples, always against the backdrop of decolonization in the British Empire. Criminologist Bernard Headley draws on his series of 1988 *Gleaner* articles to expand his ideas on the nature of the problem, and on prospects for greater social justice, in *The Jamaican Crime Scene: A Perspective* (Washington DC: Howard University Press, 1996, paper n.p.). *Essays on Youth in the Caribbean* (Barbados: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1995, paper n.p.), by sociologists Linden Lewis and Richard C. Carter, presents preliminary findings from ISER's study of Barbadian youth. Paul Vedder's *Antilliaanse kinderen: Taal, opvoeding en onderwijs op de Antillen en in Nederland* (Utrecht: Jan van Arkel, 1995, paper NLG 29.50) represents a more fleshed-out study of Antillian youth in the Netherlands. *El Barrio Gandul: Economía subterránea y*

*migración indocumentada en Puerto Rico* (Santurce PR: Universidad del Sagrado Corazón & Caracas: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1995, paper n.p.), by Jorge Duany, Luisa Hernández Angueira & César A. Rey, focuses on some of the estimated 20,000 illegal immigrants from the Dominican Republic presently in Puerto Rico. And *Havana-Miami: The US-Cuba Migration Conflict* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1996, paper US\$ 9.95), by Jesús Arboleya, presents a Cuban overview of the 1994 migration conflict, set within the broader context of U.S.-Cuban relations.

Several historical works. Clare Midgley's *Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns 1780-1870* (London: Routledge, 1992, paper US\$ 18.95) fills an important void and joins an increasing number of works that feature the Stedman-Blake image, "Europe Supported by Africa & America," on the cover. *The Other Middle Passage: Journal of a Voyage from Calcutta to Trinidad, 1858* (London: Hansib, 1994, paper £3.95), by Ron Ramdin, provides an introduction to the facsimile of Captain Swinton's diary of the notorious voyage of the "Coolie ship" *Salsette*, during which only 199 of 324 emigrants survived. *In Search of St. Martin's Ancient Peoples Prehistoric Archaeology / A la recherche des peuples anciens de St. Martin* (Philipsburg, St. Martin: July Tree Books, House of Nehesi, 1995, paper US\$ 10.00), by Jay B. Havisier, is a slim bilingual publication, intended for high-school students. The contents of Gabriel Entiope's doctoral thesis (Université de Paris X-Nanterre, 1994) are somewhat more miscellaneous than is implied in his title, *La danse dans le vécu de l'esclave caribéen (XVIIè-XIXè siècles). Contribution au problème de la résistance des Nègres*; it arrived along with a photocopy of a book cover for *Nègres, danse et résistance: la Caraïbe du XVIIè au XIXè siècle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, n.d., n.p.), which we presume to be its commercial cousin. In a booklet intended to chronicle "a forgotten page" in Aruba's history, '*Slaven zonder plantage*': *Slavernij en emancipatie op Aruba, 1750-1863* (Oranjestad: Charuba, 1996, paper n.p.), Luc Alofs gives a brief summary of slavery in Aruba. *De Slavenparochie van Curaçao rond het jaar 1750: Een demografie van het Katholieke volksdeel* ([Curaçao]: Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology of the Netherlands Antilles, 1995, paper n.p.), by R.H. Nooijen, presents a demographic snapshot based on Church archives. *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies* (New York: New York University Press, 1996, cloth US\$ 24.95) is Elaine G. Breslaw's revisionist account of the Salem witch trials, centering on the identification of Tituba not as an African-Barbadian slave (as previous authors, including most recently Maryse Condé, would have it) but rather as a South American Indian from

the mainland, who grew up as a slave in Barbados and later came to New England with her master.

As for goings-on in Suriname, the most recent report of Moiwana<sup>86</sup>, *Human Rights in Suriname, 1992-1994: Annual Report* (Utrecht: Netherlands Institute of Human Rights, 1994, paper n.p.), covers a relatively quiescent period, just before the increasing depredations of multinational logging and mining companies began making a mockery of Suriname's stated commitments to the rights of its Amerindian and Maroon populations. J. Vernooij's brief *Recht voor een, recht voor allen: Grondrechten in Suriname* (Paramaribo: Stichting Wetenschappelijke Informatie, 1995, paper n.p.) chronicles some of these more recent developments and attempts at resistance. But the most important single source on what is happening to Suriname's forests and its Amerindian and Maroon populations is Marcus Colchester's *Forest Politics in Suriname* (Utrecht: International Books, in cooperation with the World Rainforest Movement, 1995, paper n.p.), which presents the kind of background material that anyone undertaking dealings with Suriname – research, business, or pleasure – ought to study with care. In an autobiographical work entitled *In triplo* (Amsterdam: In de Knipscheer, 1995, cloth NLG 39.50), Hugo Pos looks back on his life as Surinamer, Nederlander, and Jew – including his boyhood in Suriname, his return for a colonial decade in mid-life as judge and attorney-general, and his thoughts on the political events of the 1980s. And Gert Oostindie sends this report on a recent piece of Surinamiana that we have not seen: "In *Herinneringen aan de toekomst van Suriname* (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1996, paper NLG 29.90), former politician André Haakmat presents his reflections on Suriname politics. Published just prior to the May 1996 elections, the book was widely interpreted as Haakmat's (failed) attempt to return to the center of the political scene – once again close to former military leader Desi Bouterse, who invited him back to Suriname from Amsterdam to act as vice-MP in 1980, but ousted him barely two years later."

We have received several miscellaneous Francophone publications. "*Rue Cases-Nègres*": *Du roman au film (étude comparative)*, by Sylvie César (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1994, paper n.p.) consists of a theoretically-heavy commentary on the changes between Joseph Zobel's 1950 novel and Euzhan Palcy's 1983 film, followed by a scene-by-scene comparison of the two and then the full dialogue of the film, transcribed from a video version. *Guyane à fleur des mots* (Vitry-sur-Seine: Editions Aguer, 1995, paper n.p.), by Hervé Vignes, is an odd little book that examines the uses of "nature" in the work of three novelists who used Guyane as a locale – Jean Galmot, René Gadjard, and Micheline Hermine. Indeed, the dust

jacket of Micheline Hermine's most recent novel, *La soeur d'Amérique* (Vitry-sur-Seine: Editions Aguer, 1994, paper FF 128.00), says that the author "born in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques, married a Guyanais," and the novel does use Guyane, as well as Chicago and the Pyrenees, as one of its several settings. In *Le Père Labat viendra te prendre...* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1996, paper FF 120.00), Aurélia Montel offers a popular biography of the irrepressible diarist, in the form of a historical fiction. One of Martinique's leading politicians, Camille Darsières, has written the first part of a projected two-volume study of his early-twentieth century predecessor, *Joseph Lagrosillière, socialiste colonial: Les années pures (1872-1919)* (Fort-de-France: Désormeaux, 1995, paper FF 152.00). And Nelly Schmidt has compiled *La correspondance de Victor Schoelcher* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1995, paper FF 130.00), which includes antislavery letters to Victor Hugo, Maria Chapman, and others.

The Caribbean literary scene has been active. Édouard Glissant's engaging *Faulkner, Mississippi* (Paris: Stock, 1996, paper FF 140.00), a highly personal voyage through Faulkner country, is often as revealing about the always errant "imaginaire" of Glissant as about the old master of Yoknapatawpha. In *Coming Coming Home: Conversations II* (St. Martin: House of Nehesi Publishers, 1995, paper n.p.), George Lamming presents two rich essays, "Western Education and the Caribbean Intellectual" and "Coming Coming, Coming Home"; they are preceded by an introduction by Rex Nettleford and followed by complete French translations. *Frontiers of Caribbean Literature in English* (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1996, paper £13.95), edited by Frank Birbalsingh, is a wonderful book that begins with a Lamming lecture entitled "Concepts of the Caribbean" which defines "the external frontier of the Caribbean" in London, Amsterdam, Paris, New York, Miami, and Toronto, and then passes on to interviews with Lamming, Walcott, Andrew Salkey, Jan Carew, Sam Selvon, Roy A.K. Heath, Austin Clarke, Cyril Dabydeen, Dionne Brand, Jamaica Kincaid, Lorna Goodison, David Dabydeen, and Caryl Phillips. Maryse Condé and Madeleine Cottenet-Hage have edited *Penser la créolité* (Paris: Karthala, 1995, paper FF 150.00), a collection of insightful papers in French and English which were originally presented at a 1993 conference on the French Antillean (and Haitian) *créolité* movement. *If I Could Write This in Fire: An Anthology of Literature from the Caribbean* (New York: The New Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 24.95), edited by Pamela Maria Smorkaloff, presents an idiosyncratic choice of excerpts from mainly well-known works by Miguel Barnet, Simone Schwarz-Bart, Alejo Carpentier, Austin Clarke, Michelle Cliff, C.L.R. James, Ana Lydia Vega, Pedro Mir, and others. Don Burness mixes his own commentary with the

short fiction and poetry produced by Cubans fighting in Angola (and by Angolans about the Cubans) to produce a sensitive work, *On the Shoulder of Martí: Cuban Literature of the Angolan War* (Colorado Springs: Three Continents Press, 1996, paper US\$ 16.00).

Jamaica Kincaid's *The Autobiography of My Mother* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1996, cloth US\$ 20.00) deserves all the publicity that attended its appearance – its prose is luminous, gripping, relentless, and profoundly Caribbean. *The Sign of Jonah* (Sag Harbor NY: Permanent Press, 1995, cloth US\$ 22.00) is the first of Boeli van Leeuwen's novels to be published in English; the translation captures the often startling stylistic shifts of this seasoned Curaçao-born writer. In *Breath, Eyes, Memory* (New York: Soho Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 20.00). Edwidge Danticat offers a girl's-eye view of four generations of strong Haitian women; a year ago we praised her 1995 collection *Krik? Krak!*, and now backtrack to note that her first novel is equally impressive.

The French Antilles again offers up a bumper crop of imaginative literature. In *La savane des pétrifications* (Paris: Mille et une Nuits, 1995, paper FF 10.00), Raphaël Confiant (whose latest novel, *La vierge du grand retour*, we have not yet received), offers a mordant follow-up to his 1994 *Bassin de ouragans*, satirizing some of the more egregious aspects of Martiniquan modernization. Xavier Orville's most recent publication, *Moi, Trésilien-Théodore Augustin* (Paris: Stock, 1996, paper FF 95.00), a faintly García-Marquézian tale of a dictator in decline, seems rather stale and derivative. Martiniquan Roland Brival's *Le dernier des Aloukous* (Paris: Phébus, 1996, paper FF 129.00) may well be the most execrable novel we've read in some years – shameless sexploitation set in Guyane among the Aluku Maroons. Guadeloupean Gisèle Pineau, though a late starter in the *créoliste* ranks, is making up for lost time with two recent novels: *L'espérance-macadam* (Paris: Stock, 1995, paper FF 120), which won the Prix RFO du Livre and includes such inhabitual Antillais literary themes as wife-beating and the lyrical world of a Rasta community, and *L'exil selon Julia* (Paris: Stock, 1996, paper FF 120), which offers a child's-eye view of a France that isn't hers and of her roots in a Guadeloupe known largely through the words of her grandmother. Félix-Hilaire Fortuné has written an eighteenth-century plantation novel set in Martinique, *Soleil couleur d'encre* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1996, paper FF 165.00). It is a special pleasure to note the publication of Gilbert Gratiant's *Fables créoles et autres écrits* (Paris: Stock, 1996, paper FF 160.00), with a preface by Aimé Césaire, a work that regroups more than seven-hundred pages of poems, essays, and tales – in French and in Creole – by this indefatigable pioneer of creole literature.

We simply note, as books received, several miscellaneous works not otherwise reviewed in our pages: *Crisis en succes in Suriname: Een onderzoek onder klein-agrarische en kleine en middelgrote (ambachtelijk-) industriële bedrijven* (Delft: Eburon, 1995, paper NLG 59.50), by Wilfried Ramon Roseval; *De política dominicana e internacional y desarrollo humano* (Santo Domingo: Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo, 1995, paper n.p.), by Eduardo Latorre; *Haitian Democracy Restored 1991-1995* (Lanham MD: University Press of America, 1995, paper US\$ 28.50), by Roland I. Perusse; *Nederlandse slavenhandel (1621-1803)* (Utrecht-Antwerp: Kosmos-Z&K Uitgevers, 1994, paper NLG 24.90), by Willem Flinkenflögel; *The Greening of the Revolution: Cuba's Experiment with Organic Agriculture* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1994, paper US\$ 11.95), edited by Peter Rosset & Medea Benjamin; and *Island under Siege: The U. S. Blockade of Cuba* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1995, paper US\$ 7.95), by Pedro Prada. Two Elsa Goveia Memorial Lectures were published by the Department of History, University of the West Indies (Mona, paper, each J\$ 60.00): *Unspeakable Things Unspoken: Ghosts and Memories in the Narratives of African-American Women*, by Elizabeth Fox-Genovese (1993), and *Gendered Testimony: Autobiographies, Diaries and Letters by Women as Sources for Caribbean History*, by Bridget Brereton (1994).

Finally, even though it is cooks' day off, we should note receipt of two books for the kitchen. Carmen Aboy Valldejuli's *Puerto Rican Cookery* (Gretna LA: Pelican, 1994, cloth US\$ 19.95), written by "a daughter of one of Puerto Rico's most distinguished families," is apparently in its nineteenth printing (with the Spanish-language edition claiming to be in its 53<sup>rd</sup> printing). And *Traveling Jamaica with Knife, Fork & Spoon: A Righteous Guide to Jamaican Cookery* (Freedom CA: Crossing Press, 1995, paper US\$ 16.95), by Robb Walsh & Jay McCarthy, based on a frenetic two-week "food odyssey" around Jamaica, combines the skills of a food journalist and a Texas chef to record a number of appetizing recipes and related lore.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Last Resorts: The Cost of Tourism in the Caribbean.* POLLY PATTULLO.  
London: Cassell/Latin America Bureau and Kingston: Ian Randle, 1996.  
xiii + 220 pp. (Cloth £40, Paper £14.99)

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The Caribbean is now more dependent on tourism than any other region in the world. Few voices in the Caribbean speak against tourism; nonetheless, the deep unease felt throughout the region about such an apparently irreversible dependence is clearly due to the perception that tourism offers a new form of slavery, a connection made by V.S. Naipaul in *The Middle Passage* (1962) and more recently pressed home by writers such as Hilary Beckles and Jamaica Kincaid.

*Last Resorts* responds to this perception with a cool and comprehensive overview which looks at all aspects of tourism in the Caribbean: historical, economic, social, and cultural. It offers an incisive introduction to the complexities of such phenomena as the ripple effect, the all-inclusive hotel, linkages and leakages, the relationship (or lack thereof) between tourism and agriculture, the informal sector, and foreign investment. It demonstrates effective use of statistics and reports (many, impressively, bearing a 1995 date), a journalist's ear for the telling phrase, an attuned historical sensitivity, and a well-judged use of interview material, which allows the voices of tourists, waiters, hoteliers, and vendors to be heard. The geographical range is impressively wide: there is a bias toward the English-speaking islands, but some interesting material on Cuba with its peculiar



grafting of a neoliberal tourist sector onto the socialist economy. The book is attractively produced and nicely leavened by apposite quotations from poets and calypsonians. It would be difficult to imagine a more readable or astute survey of the topic in 220 pages.

Currently casting its shadow over the Caribbean is the Butler model of tourism's life-cycle. According to this model, an unspoiled area is first subject to exploration, then subsequently to the stages of involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, and deterioration. At the end of the cycle, in Pattullo's words, "What was once poor and unspoiled is again poor but now spoiled" (p. 8). Nowhere in the Caribbean has gone through the full cycle yet, although Barbados has come close. The environmental impact of tourism is one of *Last Resorts*' major themes. Ever since Columbus, visitors have been mightily impressed by the beauty of the islands: sea, coastline, vegetation, mountains, sunlight. The terrible threat is that tourism will destroy the very qualities that bring tourists in the first place. Much has already been destroyed, and organizations such as the Caribbean Conservation Association struggle to protect an environment often subject to few planning restrictions, and where short-term gain too often takes precedence over long-term protection. In particular, wetlands, coral reefs, and mangrove swamps have suffered irreparable damage, the blame for which the book lays squarely at the door of the area's politicians, who have lacked the necessary political will.

*Last Resorts* bears out the perception that nobody now in the Caribbean is simply against tourism: the arguments concern the appropriate models to be followed, the lessons to be learned, and the mistakes to be avoided. *Last Resorts* is impeccably even-handed, but it is clear that for a good number of the people whose views Pattullo reports, cruise-ship tourism offers an increasing danger, while the model of "new tourism," pioneered by Michael Manley (who writes a foreword to the book) and Maurice Bishop, now finds a possible new life in the ecotourist route. The cruise-ship industry has been one of the Caribbean's "success" stories in recent years, though, unsurprisingly, the chief beneficiaries have not been the residents of the area. Cruising has grown from an estimated 900,850 passengers in 1983 to 2.3 million in 1993. In one of the book's more chilling quotations, a P&O spokesperson claims that the "untapped potential in the Caribbean is vast" (p. 157). With more companies getting in on the act, and bigger and bigger ships being built, the cruise-ship market offers an increasingly convincing model of an exploitative tourism with little long-term economic gain for the region and no human or cultural benefits to anybody.

Ecotourism has sometimes been presented as the last chance for the Caribbean to find a formula which would entice the visitor, preserve the environment, and not alienate the residents; and by the beginning of the 1990s nature-related tourism was the fastest-growing sector in international tourism. Ecotourism is universally seen as “a good thing,” which will mean that many islands’ versions of it will be as credible as the local supermarket’s “ecological” washing-up liquid. Nonetheless, there are interesting experiments under way, and *Last Resorts* pays special attention to the cases of Belize, Dominica, and Guyana, which are probably the places where Caribbean ecotourism will succeed, if it is to succeed at all. Dominica, which promotes itself – with good reason – as the “Nature Island,” and yet where cruise-ship arrivals rose from 11,500 in 1986 to 124,765 in 1994, will probably find out fairly quickly whether mass tourism and ecotourism are compatible.

*Introduction à une poétique du Divers*. ÉDOUARD GLISSANT. Montréal: Presses de l’Université de Montréal, 1995. 106 pp. (Paper Can\$ 14.95) [Editor’s note. A new edition is now available – Paris: Gallimard, 1996. 145 pp. (Paper FF90.00)]

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This fascinating little book is the best introduction to the theoretical work of Édouard Glissant to date. In less than a hundred pages, the Martiniquan writer revisits key concepts of his *Poétique de la relation* (1990) and summarizes his position on myriad issues more elegantly and more succinctly than most of his admirers or critics. The intellectual tour includes Glissant’s views on creolization; on self-proclaimed disciples, such as Raphaël Confiant and Patrick Chamoiseau, and the *créolité* movement; on U.S. Afrocentrism; on multilingualism; and on the respective dilemmas of writing in French or in Creole. The result is an unpretentious yet comprehensive *Glissant par lui-même*, laid out in sober words that do no damage to the complexity of his positions.

The format and size of the book work well to produce this mixture of richness and sobriety. *Introduction à une poétique du Divers* is an enhanced version of four short lectures, about ten solid pages each, that

Glissant delivered in the winter of 1995 at the University of Montreal. Each lecture provides the central theme of a chapter: "Creolization in the Caribbean and the Americas"; "*Langues* and Languages"; "Culture and Identity"; "World-Chaos." Each is, in turn, followed by a conversation between the author and various interlocutors. These brief exchanges afford Glissant repeated opportunities for elaborations and revisions. The four open-ended chapters so constituted make up the first two thirds of the book. Two important interviews published earlier, one on language and literature and one on the position and role of writers, constitute the second part.

That organization, which could have been cacophonous in a larger book, works well here. The orality of the text, Glissant's meditative tone – he apologizes for being at times "too theoretical" – and the brevity of the various parts combine to give the reader the impression of eavesdropping on an ongoing dialogue between the author and himself. Yet the book is much more than the musings of a famous author. Glissant's proclaimed suspicion toward theoretical systems notwithstanding, the value of the book is in the theoretical coherence of his world view, a view powerfully articulated here both on and between the lines.

In the background of that world view is Glissant's disapproving assessment of the modern West as a project constantly privileging the order of closed systems, of universal claims, of linear genealogies and incompatible identities over the rumpled richness of the world. To that hierarchy of closed and predictable systems, Glissant opposes a mosaic of relations – not so much a praise of diversity (in the U.S. sense of the mere juxtaposition of elements conceived to be originally pure) as a search and an enthusiasm for the inherently diverse.

Central to this theorization is the Caribbean experience as a lesson in creolization. Glissant acknowledges that cultural mixtures are as old as human history. True creolization, however, is most visible in "composite" cultures, those that have achieved the integration of various origins and cannot claim a single root. A key feature of the creolization process epitomized by composite cultures is this very impossibility to deny mixed origins. Whereas Gallo-Romans of the eighth century had no consciousness that they were the mixed products of Rome and the Gauls, Caribbean peoples cannot escape creolization. A second feature of creolization is its unpredictability. Creolization engenders a chaos that makes it distinct from mere *métissage*, whose results could be plotted by social – or genetic – engineering.

That social actors seem lost in this scheme, incapable both to change their past and to determine their future, does not alarm Glissant. To start

with, the two features that seemed not too long ago to be the unique burdens of composite cultures are becoming global phenomena. Essentialism is dead: humanity today cannot escape the awareness of its ongoing creolization. The numerous rear-guard battles in defense of sectarian identities, singular roots, and pristine cultures are themselves reactions to that inevitable awareness. Indeed, these rear-guard battles notwithstanding, the illusion of social engineering is as dead as ontological essentialism: World-chaos now demonstrates the futility of the Western quest for predictability.

The slow death of these global illusions does not generate in Glissant even a hint of postmodernist despair. Rather, he welcomes the world to the exquisite vagaries of creolization: "Chaos is beautiful." Those who have experienced creolization most vividly can now share their perception of that beauty with the world. One even has the impression that Glissant sees this sharing as a moral and political duty, although he probably would balk at such prescriptive language. At any rate, creolization for him is not simply an objective situation. It is also to a large degree a positive reaction to that situation. Creolization opens to the acknowledgment that, in order to reproduce itself most fruitfully, each culture requires the survival of all the others. Acceptance of world-chaos is the rejection of all essentialisms and the celebration of identities that are inherently plural (*identité-rhizome*) because they stem from multiple horizontal roots (*racine-rhizome*).

Literature has a unique role in that celebration. The knowledge of world-chaos being inherently intuitive, it is better felt and expressed than thought out or taught. True writers always speak to – and imagine – the world as a totality. The writers' particular relation with *langage* and consciousness, even if lived through a single *langue*, gives them the ability to mediate between that totality and the particulars of place.

That mediation is necessary because of these particulars. Unlike many poststructuralist adulators of hybridity or global culture, Glissant is too much a man of the Caribbean to buy identities that come from nowhere or "float in the clouds." "*Le lieu est incontournable.*" But acknowledging one's place is quite different from the atavism of identity politics. Thus, Glissant is equally suspicious of the "proclaimed creolization" of Confiant and Chamoiseau, of the reverse essentialism implicit in the notion of *créolité*, or of the sectarian defense of linguistic, cultural, or territorial identity.

There are important lessons in these pages for varied constituencies, from Haitian defenders of Creole, North American Afrocentrists, and French cultural bureaucrats to anthropological and literary theorists. I do have one major concern, however. Glissant's scheme, as I summarize it

here, is much more coherent than he wants to admit. It is thus fair to wonder why it has no theoretical space for a conceptualization of power. Glissant concedes that he does not know a single case where the creolization process did not start with violence. He defines classicism as the imposed transposition of particular traits as universal values. He worries about the increasing domination of American English as a universal sabir. He condemns traditional forms of political and cultural resistance that are as deadly as the hegemonies they challenged. He is unable, however, to specify the new forms of "concrete resistance" that he deems necessary.

Glissant's difficulties with power come as much from his sensibility as from his theoretical choices. His relative disregard for social relations in setting up culture as a fact of language, his faith in literature as revelation leave little room for a sociohistorical anthropology. More important, perhaps, Glissant is philosophically too generous to even conceive of the culture wars as war: there are no enemies in his world. These choices help him to sketch a most inspiring vision of the future even if it evades the struggles along the way.

*Scars of Conquest / Masks of Resistance: The Invention of Cultural Identities in African, African-American, and Caribbean Drama.* TEJUMOLA OLANIYAN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. xii + 196 pp. (Paper US\$ 15.95)

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*Scars of Conquest / Masks of Resistance* is an interesting, well-written, clearly structured book, significantly situated in current discussions of culture. It might be said to offer an African version of Said's *Orientalism* along with a neo-Marxist critique of earlier models of decolonization as occulting class, gender, and other differences. The opening chapter claims there is a colonialist discourse and a counterhegemonic discourse, and proposes a post-Afrocentric discourse in which writers asserting difference have tried to avoid the reverse Manicheanism of inverting European prejudices. The second chapter sees the first two discourses as "expressive," what others would term essentialist, while the post-Afrocentric is "performative," what others might term developing, in process, or existential. Olaniyan warns that "difference" often masks a patriarchal nationalist

essentialism, while European claims about the nature of drama, theater genres, or correct language fail to recognize that others might have different but valid cultural forms.

Four chapters discuss kinds of invented cultural identities in the writings of Wole Soyinka, Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones), Derek Walcott, and Ntozake Shange. Each chapter explicates one play as an illustration of its argument, Walcott being represented by *Dream on Monkey Mountain*. A concluding chapter favors the political in contrast to the culturalism and supposed elitism of Soyinka and Walcott, followed by a warning against letting imperialist institutions create false individual subjectivities that value the standards of European high art instead of revolutionary Third World forms. There is an implicit comparison between Amiri Baraka and Soyinka and Walcott which favors the former as a radical, unembarrassed by changes in ideology or writing that can sound like parody of agit-prop. Olaniyan believes that identity, taste, and valuation are socially constructed, culture is shaped by politics, and Walcott should use Carnival and Calypso instead of Shakespearean forms.

Claims about social constructions may often repeat racial and class stereotypes; Olaniyan's discussion is shaped by commitments that can be blind to cultural history – the plays he analyzes are products of the 1960s and 1970s. The unusual grammar and spelling and the syntactical ambiguities in *for colored girls who have considered suicide* claimed by Shange as part of her own black female language might also be thought part of the avant-garde's long battle with prescriptive usage, a battle continued by various separatists. Shange's reordering of scenes so that each performance is an improvisation is neither uniquely hers nor uniquely black and is part of the search for continual variation and free form that occupied several decades. Her technique of shuffling around composed bits for each performance was used in jazz concerts by Don Cherry and was anticipated in England by the novelist B.S. Johnson (who had chapters separately bound so that the reader could rearrange them for a different story each time). The most significant part of Shange's style is not mentioned: that the cadences of her lines are black English, and are in the oral traditions of blues and spirituals. Few whites could naturally write such lines; this is a matter of voice, intonation, stress, and rhythm.

While explaining Soyinka's *Death and the King's Horseman*, Olaniyan notes that the view that sacrifice is necessary to communal survival was challenged by those servants, women, and others likely to be sacrificed. So Olaniyan is right that Soyinka's mythopoetics ignores class, gender, and historic specificity, but then Olaniyan must admit that Soyinka has risked his life fighting against corrupt and tyrannical governments, and often

treats freedom and justice in his plays, while his criticism opposes Marxist class analysis of Africa as intellectual imperialism. In trying to explain, criticize, and defend Soyinka (who is one of his sponsors), Olaniyan misses the obvious: *Death and the King's Horseman* is about generational conflict and follows from other Soyinka plays where self-sacrifice, usually by the young, is seen as the answer to a corrupt feudalism of forced sacrifice. Ogun's perilous journey is willingly undertaken by individuals.

While asking what status a traditional world view can have for generations raised in the modern world, Olaniyan warns against incorporating the assumptions of Western institutions. He recognizes that his book might be regarded a product of such institutions; it was supported by three years of fellowships at major American universities, and he even had a university grant to pay for permissions.

There is a more obvious way that his book is a product of the United States, its preferred theorists and cultural wars, its racial conflicts, and the Afro-American departments in which Olaniyan teaches. Like many post-colonial theorists he offers a strangely distorted Hegelian-Marxist dialectic in which European discourse is an unchanging monolith and instead of synthesis there can only be forms of resistance that need be examined against possible European influences. No matter how sophisticated the development of such a theory, it has inscribed within it the basic assumption that what I say must be part of an imperializing European discourse while Olaniyan belongs to an opposing discourse and politics – the now accepted American version of multiculturalism as separatism. While he acknowledges that art has its validity, his theory reduces all difference to politics.

This reverse racism and totalizing of life into simplistic politics is a version of Said's *Orientalism* where Foucault's analysis of how power at specific times shaped discourses was transformed into an ahistorical, guilty Western imperialism, complicit in all activity concerning non-Europeans and here treated in relationship to Africans, the African diaspora, and those with some African blood.

Beyond the flawed theory with its political and racial assumptions Olaniyan also resorts to questionable scholarship. He offers as evidence of European disregard for others a remark from Ruth Finnegan's *Oral Culture in Africa* (1970) about the lack of African theater although, Olaniyan says, Joel Adedeji had already proved its long existence. Since Adedeji's ground-breaking scholarship first appeared in journals during 1969 there would not have been time for Finnegan to discuss it if she had been aware of it. Only about thirty-two pages of Adedeji's research have so far appeared outside his dissertation. Olaniyan also ignores the probability – which risks returning part of African literary history to "colonialist dis-

course" – that Soyinka's mythopoetics are partly indebted to those well-known anthropologists, writers, and literary critics in previous generations who saw the origins of tragedy in myth and ritual.

This and many other books of postcolonial theory focus on a few texts by now well-established authors who were part of the generation when decolonization and white racism were significant topics. The work of Ken Saro-Wiwa would be more relevant to Africa today. It is perhaps significant that when PEN, Amnesty International, Greenpeace, and others were protesting against Saro-Wiwa's imprisonment, it was impossible to find enough academics in the United States to form a panel to discuss Saro-Wiwa at the annual MLA Conference. It is safe and easy now to write about colonialism and white racism; many European nations have anti-racist and affirmative action policies and Olaniyan's concerns are similar to policies at most American universities. What is needed is criticism of local tyrannies and corruption along with thought about how the various post-nationalist, post-colonial, and post-Afrocentric discourses are related to the globalization of the economy, communications, and culture.

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*The Matrifocal Family: Power, Pluralism and Politics*. RAYMOND T. SMITH. New York: Routledge, 1996. x + 236 pp. (Paper US\$ 18.95)

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*The Matrifocal Family* deals with the social and familial composition, and political evolution, of British Caribbean societies, particularly Guyana and Jamaica, where the author and his students have been doing fieldwork over the course of the last four decades.



Despite the principal title, Professor Smith has done much more than look at the matrifocal family in the book's eleven chapters (all but one of which were previously published). He has gathered together a series of his major articles on race, class, and politics, as well as on kinship, in the (Anglophone) Caribbean region.

When Smith began his fieldwork in the Caribbean forty years ago, kinship was anthropology's preeminent subject of study. If we start from the premise of social relationships as the kernel of daily human existence, and impute to the societies we study boundedness and unity, then there could be no better way to begin fieldwork. As Michael Carrithers writes: "kinship, when anthropology considered itself the study of primitive, small-scale societies, was the entire entrée section on anthropology's menu" (1992:186). It certainly was; but note the qualification. By the 1950s, anthropology had begun to question its exclusive preoccupation with "primitive" societies, and fieldwork in the Caribbean region was one of the signs. Many of the pioneers in Caribbean field research were interested primarily in kinship. They were not at first concerned that the societies were (or were thought to be) so different from the Asian, African, and Latin American societies which most previous anthropology had targeted. It was not so much that the subject matter was different, but that these societies had somehow been overlooked by the discipline.

Whereas some of the Caribbean fieldworkers of those years were cavalier about kinship (I think here, for instance, of those of us who worked on the so-called "Puerto Rico Project"), Smith's first monograph (1956) set very high standards for students of kinship and social structure in the region. His work (and that of his contemporary, the late Michael G. Smith) greatly stimulated kinship studies there. Scores – possibly hundreds – of theses, articles, and books on Caribbean kinship appeared, particularly in the late 1950s and early 1960s, before dwindling to a trickle once more.

While many of those studies took insufficient account of the larger structures of the societies within which they were done, that criticism cannot be fairly leveled at Raymond Smith. In this book Smith comments – in his introduction and in various passages in the edited texts – on his own changing outlook, as well as on those features of his work where his views has remained unchanged over the years. His rejection of the concept of "ethnic group" is firm and illuminating: "The problem is not to relegate group cultural differences to a position of insignificance, but to understand how they are deployed, created or perpetuated in contexts of class oppression or political struggle" (p. 10). Elsewhere, he reasserts his "unequivocal break with the idea that the 'nuclear' or 'elementary' family of a man, his legal wife, and their legitimate children is both a universal and a necessary

human social institution" (p. 6). He also qualifies his early loyalty to the idea that "the mother-child relationship is the basic unit of all kinship systems, and that we should examine the way in which males' roles are structured in relation to it" (p. 56).

In certain fundamentals, however, Smith's position remains unchanged. For example, throughout his career he has steadfastly resisted the conception of African-American family life as deformed or pathological. His view in this regard are demonstrated by several ringing (and sadly, still highly relevant) passages from his introductory chapter:

It has been convenient to create statistical models that establish causal links between the supposed breakdown of the African-American family and the conditions of poverty and deprivation in which large numbers of people are obliged to live, without ever considering the constitutive relations between affluence and deprivation – between the extravagance of the rich and the desperation of the poor ... the stereotyped denigration of African-American kinship continues to be an integral part of discourse on social policy, especially in the United States, and the by-now extensive body of ethnographic material establishing a more positive view continues to be ignored ...

Over the past ten or fifteen years the debate over welfare policy has taken a dangerous turn, greatly stimulated by the revival of eighteenth-century ideas embedded in Charles Murray's reasonable-sounding (but largely incorrect) assumption that public assistance for the poor encourages dependence and immoral behavior, and his less reasonable-sounding, but equally seductive, writing on race and genetic differences. In spite of the barrage of statistical evidence marshalled to refute these claims, the idea of cutting public assistance is as attractive now as it was when Jeremy Bentham produced his plan for reforming the Poor Laws of England almost two centuries ago. The difference now is that the discussion is inflected with a deep racism that no amount of statistical evidence, or arguments about genes versus environment, can hide. (pp. 2-3)

Smith's lifelong insistence on careful fieldwork reveals itself in the work of his students, and his oeuvre on kinship and other bases of social assortment in the Caribbean continues to influence thoughtful scholars of the region. This is a book that all serious students of the former British West Indies will welcome.

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*Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History.* MICHEL-ROLPH TROUILLOT. Boston: Beacon, 1995. xix + 191 pp. (Cloth US\$ 22.00)

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The title of this book suggests a process through which powerful forces shape visions of the past in accordance with some purpose, explicit or implicit, that results in a suppression of significant events or "facts." Trouillot is much too skillful a writer and much too careful a scholar to put the matter so crudely. Much of the book is – and is declared to be – an exposition of the basics of the processes of writing history. It is, as he says, suitable for undergraduate courses. And yet there is a much more profound purpose behind this work: a deep commitment to expose the arrogance of European cultural hegemony and establish the importance of other readings of the past. The obstacles are formidable, as he so laboriously explains. There is the matter of archives, for example, and the question of who establishes and controls them; and there is the issue of the training and certification of historical practitioners into what he calls "the guild."

Silences enter the process of historical production at four crucial moments: the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance). (p. 26)

One can almost hear the scratch of pens as students dutifully write down that paragraph carefully highlighted by instructors. In all likelihood they will ignore the following injunction, that these moments do not provide a proper account of the making of any actual narrative. They do not account for the production of any particular bundle of silences which must be deconstructed in a particular way.

In this book he will use a different approach to "reveal the conventions and the tensions" within the mixture of silences in each of his three cases: the case of a forgotten, but significant, figure of the Haitian Revolution; the general silencing of the Haitian Revolution itself by "Western historiography"; and the masking of 500 years of oppression by complex and protean images of the meaning of Columbus and his "discovery" of "America." All this involves tracking power through various moments of the processual character of historical production. Power "precedes the

narrative proper, contributes to its creation and to its interpretation ... In history, power begins at the source" (p. 29). And at the source Trouillot places materiality; the materiality of the sociohistorical process sets the stage for the production of future narratives. "History begins with bodies and artifacts; living brains, fossils, texts, buildings" (p. 29). This is a constant theme in the following chapters; the evocation of place is pervasive, be it the ruined palace built by Henry Christophe and named Sans Souci, the waterfront in Lisbon from which Vasco Da Gama set sail, a Mayan temple with its sacred well into which human sacrifices had been thrown, or the pot-holed streets of Port-au-Prince. For Trouillot, materiality is what sets the limits to narrative, even though he is acutely aware that a naive positivism is as misleading as what he calls "constructivism" and its self-congratulatory rediscovery of the old idea that everything is an interpretation.

The cases are fascinating, for Trouillot tells a good story, especially when his enthusiasm outruns that materiality by which he places so much store. The case of Colonel Sans Souci, the Congo leader murdered by Henry Christophe who supposedly then followed an African tradition and built his palace on the powerful remains of his rival, is a case in point. But leaving aside this speculative flight of imagination, the discussion of the three cases builds into a more general indictment of the way in which "the West" came into being, extended itself across the globe, and continues to understand both itself and others. Unfortunately the power of the indictment is sometimes muted, softened by a recurrent thread of autobiography that comes close to suggesting that the whole enterprise is merely an extension of Trouillot's special upbringing. He begins with, and constantly returns to, the issue of personal meaning – his father's teaching in high school and arguments about Haitian history between his father and his father's brother, Hénock Trouillot, Director of the National Archives of Haiti.

Growing up who I was, I could not escape historicity, but I also learned that anyone anywhere with the right dosage of suspicion can formulate questions to history with no pretense that these questions themselves stand outside history. (p. xviii)

Quite so. But the formulation of those questions involves more than a suspicion about the accuracy of the narratives purveyed by the members of the guild. If, as Trouillot suggests, race, slavery, and colonialism are not merely the preoccupations of marginal people seeking a place in history, but the fundamental and long ignored factors in the very constitution of

"the West," then the stakes are high indeed and the battle barely begun. Evidence presented here makes it clear beyond reasonable doubt that one cannot look to academic historians to uncover those formative factors; the case of Eric Hobsbawm's *The Age of Revolution* is particularly telling since Hobsbawm's progressive credentials are beyond dispute and yet he barely mentions those world-historical events in Haiti and the Caribbean in which France and Britain each lost more men than they did at Waterloo. Still, it is going a bit too far to say that academic historians are precluded by their traditions and their positivistic inclinations from situating themselves, and their work, in the present. "A fetishism of the facts, premised on an antiquated model of the natural sciences, still dominates history and the other social sciences" (p. 151). That should raise an eyebrow or two!

This book is significant beyond its limited subject matter, beyond its occasional extravagances; and beyond the deficiencies of the too-small type and the incredibly bad illustrations. Its radical critique is tempered by sound judgment and a civilized tolerance that makes the message all the more compelling. The power of Trouillot's argument lies in the observation that academic historiography, and the social sciences, remain grounded in a way of seeing, and a way of being in the world, that still assumes differences rooted in race.

This argument has far more weight than the shrill voices demanding the establishment of special courses of study for each "ethnic group." What is at stake here is the very core of the history of Western civilization.

*Peripheral Migrants: Haitians and Dominican Republic Sugar Plantations.* SAMUEL MARTÍNEZ. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. xxi + 228 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00)

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On page 137 of his book on Haitian migration to sugar plantations in the Dominican Republic, Samuel Martínez describes in a couple of sentences the life story of a woman called Yolette. She was twice abandoned by husbands who failed to return from the Dominican Republic, in Haitian shorthand simply called *Sêdomêg*. But that was not all. Martínez adds: "Her neighbors regard her as particularly unlucky because she also lost

twin brothers and her two sons to *Sédomég*." This left her with a single daughter and two grandchildren as her only remaining relatives. In these few sentences a lot of information is hidden about the plight of Haitian migrants and those who stay behind.

Since the beginning of this century tens of thousands of Haitian peasants have crossed the border of the neighboring Dominican Republic every year to cut cane during the harvest period on the sugar plantations in the southern part of that country. They had to endure abysmal working conditions and were liable to all kinds of abuse. During periods of labor scarcity they were often forcefully recruited by the Haitian *tonton macoutes* who "sold" them to the sugar companies. These, in turn, sealed off their plantations and took every measure to avoid their Haitian labor force to flee. It may come as no surprise that this labor system has regularly been denounced as slavery.

However, Martínez starts his analysis from a different point of departure. He does not deny the discrimination, low pay, and inhuman working conditions encountered by Haitians on the Dominican sugar plantations, but he stresses the fact that most of the migration has been voluntary. Some of the migrants he interviewed made as many as ten consecutive trips to the Dominican Republic, every year returning to their family. Martínez's principal question is how to explain this continuous circular movement. To answer this question he did fieldwork in two Haitian rural communities as well as in a *batey*, a compound of a sugar cane plantation in the Dominican Republic. The result is a sophisticated analysis of the logic of Haitian labor migration. Martínez shows how the Haitian peasant economy became inextricably intertwined with the Dominican sugar economy in the course of the twentieth century. The (little) cash potentially provided by cutting cane became an indispensable asset for the Haitian peasant family.

On the basis of his fieldwork, Martínez is able to show the contradictory results of this logic. Every Haitian migrant may be able to obtain some savings at one time or another, as a result of either his work or a stroke of luck, for instance in the lottery. The tragedy is that many workers do not succeed in accumulating enough money in one harvest season, and are forced to "double" their stay. They remain in the Dominican Republic for another year to avoid the shame of returning without bringing enough money. It is this tragic logic that cost Yolette her two husbands, two brothers, and a son. Not for nothing, many parents strongly object to their sons' migration, many wives to that of their husband. Their problem is that they can do little to dissuade them. Peasant agriculture does not allow families to raise money and the cost of going to the Dominican Republic is much lower than the cost of going to an urban area or traveling to the

United States. The combination of relatively low costs of migration and guaranteed employment on the one side, and the very low wages and bad working conditions on the other, offer the basic explanation for the permanent circularity of Haitian migration to the Dominican sugar plantations.

Martínez's book is innovative in various respects. Its most important asset is its double focus on sending and receiving societies. Up to now, most studies have focused exclusively on the Haitian situation in the Dominican Republic. The present study allows for a more thorough assessment of the motives of the migrants and the background for their decision to leave their families. By doing this, Martínez returns to the Haitian migrants their dignity and humanity, which is so often denied them by observers who just see them as either cheap laborers or hapless victims of exploitation.

Martínez also contributes to the more general debate on migration. Nowadays it is common sense among students of migration to consider migration as a family affair. On the basis of a broad reading of migrant studies Martínez concludes that the Haitian labor migration to the Dominican Republic takes place outside of family networks. Its specific nature precludes reliance on family solidarity. Difficult communications, poor living conditions, and indifferent labor policies of the sugar companies make it almost impossible for resident workers to help their kin. Martínez's thorough analysis of the logic of this non-family migration will be of great interest to students of migrants all over the world.

There are also some points that Martínez could have explored a little more. For one thing I would have liked to read a little more about the reality of the migration experience. Sixteen months of fieldwork must have provided Martínez with information about such matters as the different travel routes, social relations among migrants, and the ways the workers find to communicate with their home base and send back money, which might have shed more light on the daily realities of the migration experience.

Another area for further exploration is the opportunities of Haitian migrants in other sectors of the Dominican economy. Martínez refers in passing to the increasing presence of Haitian labor in other sectors such as smaller scale agriculture and urban construction works. I would suggest that we can only understand Haitian migration and the incentives for Haitian migrants to stay in the Dominican Republic when we include these alternative opportunities for employment in the analysis.

Finally, Martínez has written his book in the present tense, but it is based on fieldwork done in the period 1985-1987. Since then many

changes have taken place in both countries. The political turmoil following Aristide's overthrow and the crisis in the Dominican sugar sector have strongly affected the context of migration in recent years. The book would have gained force with an epilogue analyzing some of these recent events.

All in all, this is a fascinating book. It not only opens new avenues for research on social change in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, but it is also an important contribution to the debate on international migration in the present-day world.

*Peasants and Tobacco in the Dominican Republic, 1870-1930.* MICHEL BAUD. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. x + 326 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00)

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Tobacco and its peasant producers constitute a topic that has lent itself to polemics and easy generalizations in the Hispanic Caribbean. The prime example of social critique wrapped in tobacco leaf is of course Fernando Ortiz's *Cuban Counterpoint*, which contrasted "democratic," smallholder-produced tobacco and "despotic," plantation-produced sugar. In the Dominican Republic, positive and negative meanings were attached to tobacco and sugar decades before Ortiz. These meanings shifted over the sixty-year period that Michiel Baud examines in *Peasants and Tobacco*. What persisted was the tendency to editorialize with a *cachimbo* in one hand and a stalk of sugarcane in the other.

Against this backdrop, Baud's is surely one of the most even-handed, thorough, and informative interventions on this topic to date. Baud examines the history of tobacco and its peasant producers in the Dominican Republic's northern Cibao Valley, focusing on the small-scale tobacco growers of the Villa González area, near the city of Santiago. He asks what the basis of tobacco's continuing attraction to these peasant cultivators was, and seeks to describe the impact of tobacco cultivation on their lives, especially with regard to the maintenance or erosion of peasant economic autonomy. In order to understand better the relationship of peasant producers to the wider world, he looks also at the roles of tobacco in the national economy and in international trade. He concludes that if



smallholders remained predominant in Dominican tobacco production throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was not conservatism but adaptiveness that kept them there. In an era of rapid economic transformation and increasing state intervention in the lives of ordinary rural people, the fact that mainly smallholders produced tobacco may have been one of the few things that did not change in the Cibao.

What made tobacco particularly well suited to smallholder cultivation in the Dominican Republic was not (pace Ortiz) this crop's "need" for meticulous care, providable only by small-scale farmers. On the contrary, the tobacco varieties grown in the Cibao were hardy, required little field labor, and hence could be easily combined with the cultivation of subsistence foodstuffs. Baud instead sees the association of tobacco with small-scale, mixed agriculture in the Dominican Republic as the product of a complex set of political and economic conditions. These include ease of access to land, the fairly limited political and economic power of regional and national elites, low prices for tobacco on foreign markets, and the saleability of tobacco on the internal market.

Baud interprets peasant cash-crop production in the case at hand as a way of retaining the economic autonomy and security provided by subsistence crop cultivation, while still opening access to goods that only the export market could provide. Contradictions in this dual-oriented strategy manifested themselves primarily over the long term, as unequal market outcomes fragmented the Cibao peasantry into poorer versus wealthier and subsistence versus commercially-oriented segments. Baud depicts the peasantry as a changing group, subject to divisive, centrifugal forces as well as unifying norms. He conceives of rural transformation less as a matter of *introducing* market relations than of tipping the *balance* of production, incrementally and unevenly, from subsistence to commercial farming.

Baud focuses not on "the history of one group" but on "the interaction ... among different ... groups" (p. 48). He pays as careful attention to traders, large landholders, exporters, legislators, and agricultural extension agents as to the peasants who grew tobacco. The scope and organization of the book remind me of Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Peasants and Capital* (a work that Baud cites with approval in a genuinely useful theoretical exegesis entitled "Peasants and Historians"). Like Trouillot, Baud describes with considerable specificity both the internal dialectic of local society, and that society's articulation with the wider world. Rather than simply opposing a disembodied "elite" to "the peasantry," Baud situates elites as well as peasants in time and space. This is important, because, up to the 1920s, Cibaño elites more often made common cause

with "their" peasants than with the central authorities from Santo Domingo.

There is much to praise also in Baud's ingenious use of his available sources. He correctly points out that only a highly fragmentary picture of rural life is retrievable from the archives. In matching endnotes to text, I often sensed Baud squeezing his written sources for every possible drop of information, at times inferring more meaning from silences than from what the documents actually say. The heterogeneity of his sources, as well as his willingness to extrapolate whole patterns and processes from fragmentary evidence, add up to an unusually active authorial-interpretive presence, of a type perhaps more common in African than Latin American history. Baud's impressive knowledge of comparable examples in Third World agrarian history aids him in piecing together a picture of the Cibaëño past from disparate sources. My main misgiving is that, where other scholars might point out the varying levels of certainty behind their readings of the evidence, Baud often delivers all his information in an undifferentiated tone of matter-of-fact certainty. Obviously, more conservative scholars might like the straightforward tone but mistrust Baud's more daring flights of reasoning.

*Peasants and Tobacco* considerably nuances our understanding of tobacco production in Caribbean history, particularly with regard to the local-global dialectics of cash-crop production, and invites instructive comparisons with peasant cash-crop producers elsewhere in Latin America and the Caribbean.

*Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912.*

ALINE HELG. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995. xii + 361 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00, Paper US\$ 16.95)

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Domingo Del Monte, the outstanding patron of Cuban intellectuals during the first half of the nineteenth century, spoke for a generation of young, white liberal nationalists when he denounced slavery and Cuba's massive illegal slave trade with Africa as insidious obstacles "to the progress of the civilization of our race in Cuba." The island was suffering because of

slavery but even more because Cuba's slaves were "blacks, that is to say from such a savage branch of the human family." He wanted his beloved homeland populated by free white labor, "not another Haiti or Jamaica, condemned by an evil fate to be inhabited and possessed by one of the most backward races of the human family."

These words surfaced as part of Del Monte's published rebuttal in 1844 of Spanish charges of complicity in the Conspiracy of La Escalera, a truly defining moment in the history of Cuban race relations when thousands of Afro-Cubans, free and slave, fell victim to a government-sponsored bloodletting after evidence of a revolutionary conspiracy of the *gente de color* ("people of color") was uncovered. After La Escalera, as Aline Helg indicates in her penetrating study, white Cubans, sharing Del Monte's prejudices, increasingly replaced *gente de color* with *raza de color* and a three-tiered system of racial categorization narrowed to two tiers, similar to that in the United States. Despite heroic and disproportionate sacrifices made by Afro-Cubans to liberate Cuba from Spanish rule, Cuban whites embraced the language of "scientific" racism to insure that Cuba's progress and independence would not also result in a world turned upside down. Indeed, the systematic degradation of Afro-Cubans as savage, ignorant, and sub-human served as a most useful foil in the elevation of a Eurocentric version of *cubanidad*. When Afro-Cubans resisted by forming, in 1908, the first political party based on color in the history of Latin America, white elites called them racists and targeted them and their party for elimination. The so-called Race War of 1912, Helg demonstrates, was little more than a grisly white massacre of thousands of Afro-Cubans.

Helg, a Swiss-educated professor of history at the University of Texas, Austin, has emerged within the last decade as a driving force in the comparative study of race relations in Latin America. She begins her search for an explanation of the 1912 massacre with the anticlimactic ending of Cuban slavery in 1886. It unraveled without a death struggle within a larger context of anticolonial rebellion that had placed white separatists in the trenches with black rebels. Cuban slaveholders, it appeared to many, had given up their human property voluntarily. This relatively benign process fed a myth of Cuban racial equality, which successive Cuban regimes, from the presidency of Tomás Estrada Palma to the dictatorship of Fidel Castro, have exploited for their own ends. Beneath the surface of post-emancipation Cuba, however, Afro-Cubans confronted a harsh daily reality of poverty, segregation, and white supremacy.

When rebellion broke out again in 1895, Afro-Cubans aspired to redress long-standing grievances by first winning independence from Spain. Black volunteers filled the ranks of the Liberation Army, particularly in the

eastern theater, and their contributions proved decisive in many places. Battlefield merit also elevated a number of Afro-Cubans to command positions. "The potential for the war to become a social revolution," Helg observes, "was strong indeed" (p. 57).

Thus, the white-dominated provisional government, fearing that an independent Cuba would become another Haiti, monitored carefully General Antonio Maceo and other distinguished Afro-Cuban officers and advanced hand-picked educated whites ahead of deserving, battle-hardened blacks to key positions. U.S. involvement in the war only hastened Afro-Cuban marginalization. Afro-Cubans expected an independent Cuba to thank them for their service to the cause with compensation, their "rightful share" of government jobs, and by ending discriminatory barriers. Instead, manipulated fears of Afro-Cuban cults, witches, and rapists sent racial tensions soaring and led to bursts of official repression. Helg's impressive research offers telling examples of this virulent racist climate after independence, including the spectacle of a national commission in 1900 picking over the bones of the mulatto Antonio Maceo to prove the superiority of his "white" over his "black" inheritance. After 1902, when the Afro-Cuban war hero General Quentín Banderas approached Estrada Palma's newly-elected government for employment, it even turned him down for a job as a janitor.

Finding neither the Moderate nor Liberal parties responsive to their needs, Afro-Cubans formed the Partido Independiente de Color. Their political program

demanded an end to racial discrimination, equal access for Afro-Cubans to positions in public service and the diplomatic corps, and an end to the ban on "non-white" immigration ... expansion of compulsory free education ... abolition of the death penalty, reform of the judicial and penitentiary systems; establishment of the eight-hour work day and of a system that gave Cubans priority in employment; and the distribution of national lands to Cubans. (p. 147)

The leaders of the party came from the middle class and were veterans of the Liberation Army; the rank-and-file came primarily from the peasantry and the working class. Support concentrated in the urban centers of Havana, Santa Clara, and Oriente provinces, although the party reached nationwide. Before suppression, it may have had "between 10,000 and 20,000 potential supporters" (p. 156).

Rumors wildly circulated that the *independientes* were organizing for a race war and receiving assistance from Haiti. In 1910 the Cuban government responded by outlawing the party and carrying out mass arrests.

Desperate party leaders campaigned to get the ban repealed, but in 1912 after years of persecution they played into the government's hand by calling for an armed demonstration in Oriente. The Cuban army swept in, and a slaughter of Afro-Cubans ensued that would eventually spread throughout the island.

Long before Martin Luther King, the Cuban patriot José Martí called upon his countrymen from exile to put away their color prejudice and to judge each other on the basis of character and merit. Independence would bring a just and color-blind Cuba, he insisted. He repeatedly denied that an independent Cuba could ever experience a race war. Helg's splendid book suggests that he was whistling past the graveyard.

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*The Economy and Material Culture of Slaves: Goods and Chattels on the Sugar Plantations of Jamaica and Louisiana*. RODERICK A. McDONALD. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993. xiv + 339 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

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Roderick McDonald's comparative work on the economy and material culture of slaves in the sugar-growing regions of Jamaica and Louisiana is a new addition to the increasing focus on slaves' independent economic activity and its relationship to their material well-being and personal autonomy. Scholars such as Sidney Mintz, Richard Price, Sally Price, and Douglas Hall, among others, have been studying aspects of these phenomena in Latin America and the Caribbean for years, especially slave marketing activities and their significance; recently, scholars such as Ira Berlin, Philip Morgan, and Larry Hudson have given attention to similar practices in the United States. McDonald considers two regions in one volume and argues that while there were important differences in material culture (determined partly by climate, geography, and distinctive planter

attitudes), those regarding marketing activities were minimal. The latter conclusion goes against the assumptions of many earlier scholars, though not most recent ones, about the ways in which North American and Caribbean slave societies diverged. The older view has been perpetuated by Michael Mullin's valuable *Africa in America* (1992), which distinguishes between provision-ground societies, where slaves furnished most of their own food and were given time off to produce and market it, and "allowance" societies, where most of the slaves' needs in foodstuffs and otherwise was provided by the masters. In the latter, particularly in the southern United States, planters tried to monopolize as much as possible of the slaves' time and curtail their opportunity for independent activity. They sought – largely successfully, Mullin maintains – to prevent the large-scale marketing system common to the West Indies from developing. This outlook reinforced the southern planters' view of the slaves as chattels and southern slaves' image of themselves as dependents.

By contrast, McDonald contends that "The internal economies of Louisiana estates, in which slaves accumulated and disposed of money and property, showed the same vitality as those developed by Jamaican slaves" (p. 51). This point is all the more striking when one recognizes that Mullin's most important elements of contrast derived from Jamaica. Moreover, McDonald explains the greater responsibility Louisiana planters assumed for their slaves' welfare partly in terms of harvest requirements, where slaves had to work long hours seven days a week to get the crop to the refinery before cold weather set in. To the old dichotomy between slaves' activities from sunup to sundown, when they worked for their owners, and from sundown to sunup, which they had to themselves, McDonald adds a new refinement "since a division also existed between laboring for the planter and laboring for themselves and their families, a prerogative they zealously asserted and defended" (p. 167). This distinction has special importance considering that during the harvest Louisiana slaves worked for the planters virtually around the clock.

Mullin's general point about southern planters' goals for their slaves might in fact be true, and not all of McDonald's evidence contradicts it. But McDonald does suggest significant local variation in terms of what North American planters were able to accomplish of their goals, or, conversely, what North American slaves were able to achieve in opposition to them. This is an area of disagreement that may be a fruitful field of contestation for some time to come, for, operating in a majority-white society where planters could depend on the economic and political support of working-class white people from outside their locality, North American slaves quite likely suffered greater restraints than their Caribbean counter-

parts. But the precise limits of these restraints require further study. North American scholars too often let contemporary assumptions about race drive their research or conclusions and seek to explain their perception of current differences between the United States and the Caribbean in terms of slavery when the post-emancipation period is probably more relevant. McDonald does not adopt this anachronistic approach.

McDonald provides many useful details of slave life in the two regions; this is particularly true, for example, in his discussion of the types of cloth bought by and for slaves – items mentioned in many documents of slavery and the slave trade but seldom if ever identified. His descriptions of the construction of slave housing and of the work routine of sugar culture are likewise convenient. These, along with the tables summarizing his findings, make the book a valuable source for scholars as well as for students and general readers who have a casual interest in slavery. It is well written and easy to read. The Louisiana State University Press is to be commended for continuing to use footnotes in contrast to the increasingly common end-notes that curb the interested reader's curiosity. McDonald includes a helpful bibliographic essay that, along with other virtues, contributes to making this book highly recommended.

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*Puerto Rico: desde sus orígenes hasta el cese de la dominación española*. LUIS M. DÍAZ SOLER. Río Piedras: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1994. xix + 758 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

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This is a copious twenty-three-chapter study which synthesizes the rise of Puerto Rico from its beginnings to the end of the Spanish-American War, when the United States assumed control of the island.

In Part I the author broadly sketches the geological genesis of the Caribbean islands, unearthing Puerto Rico's shared Caribbean heritage, as well as its unique topography, natural resources, and present economic activities. Part II traces the origins, history, and cultures of the native peoples – Igneris, Ciguayos, Subtaínos, Taínos, and Caribs – and the Spanish conquest and colonization of Boriquén. Díaz Soler reminds us that no religious or civil aristocrats sailed to the New World in Columbus's first voyage, which was manned by a simple, humble, albeit conquering and colonizing people. By arguing that these soldier-navigators were motivated by "the firm resolution of bearing the hard test which destiny had set aside for them" (p. 85), he de-emphasizes economic incentives in favor of a pervasive fatalist drive. His conclusion that "the discovery and conquest of America was the work of minorities who paved the way for the action of the majorities" (p. 85) is an interesting new spin to the growing Columbian revisionist literature. The subordinate status and virtual disappearance of the Taínos after their failed 1511 uprising resulted from "the cultural and bellicose superiority of the conqueror" (p. 103). This is a phrase Díaz Soler employs extensively to subsume the combined impact of warfare, forced acculturation, overwork, enslavement, diseases, emigration, and biological fusion on Taíno society and culture.

Parts III and IV address the period from 1511 to the early nineteenth century, typified by a shift in Spanish immigration and trade to the mainland mineral enclaves and the rise of a subsistence economy. Urban life revolved around San Juan and San Germán, contraband was ubiquitous, and *hateros* controlled the land. Financially, Puerto Rico became dependent on a subsidy from New Spain, which also served as the island's administrative seat. *Mulatización* thrived alongside a growing racism which penalized non-whites via "a wall of rights in favor of the white[s] and another of obligations for blacks and mulattoes" (p. 348).

Díaz Soler devotes the remaining sections of the book to a painstaking tracking of the development of a Puerto Rican autonomist tradition from the feat of the 1809 Ley Power through a subsequent splintering into assimilationist and separatist movements. The Ley Power and its 1823 Quiñonez-Valera sequel embodied the creole elite's longing for colonial participation, an embryonic liberalism characterized by a demand for greater educational and economic opportunities as well as for limited popular representation. Although Spanish reformists granted some of the demands, alternating periods of constitutional government and monarchical control in Spain after 1812 prevented these concessions from becoming a basis for the establishment of a tradition of self-government.

Díaz Soler ties the failure of home rule to metropolitan policies designed



to thwart secessionist agitation in Spanish America. He regards the 1815 *Cédula de Gracias* as an anti-liberal measure that benefited principally foreigners, *iberos*, and royalist *emigrados*. While Spain supported the abolition of the slave trade in 1817, 1820, and 1835, it allowed Governor Miguel de la Torre to indulge conservatives with generous slave importation permits. The governor also crafted a restrictive, punitive 1826 *Reglamento de Esclavos* and endorsed the eulogy of colonialism which the books by Pedro Tomás de Córdova and Colonel George Flinter represented.

The book attributes the growing dissension among island liberals and autonomists to the wavering political support for colonial reforms in Spain and despotic colonial rule in Puerto Rico. Until late in the century liberals/autonomists were split in their support for greater autonomy, administrative decentralization, and the abolition of slavery. Conservatives/monarchists remained relatively cohesive, lending their support to the anti-black *Código Negro* (1848), compulsory labor of free workers under the *Libreta* system (1851), the Guardia Civil (1861), increased censorship, and widespread repression of anti-colonial forces under the *compones* (1887).

Ironically, absolutist policies proved antithetic to metropolitan interests by fostering political and economic ties between the Spanish colonies and the United States. In 1851, merchants from the northern republic handled 42 percent of Puerto Rico's exportations. Since the 1860s, New York harbored important nuclei of separatists who plotted interventionist and independence movements. These bonds facilitated the United States' determination to invade both islands. Díaz Soler concludes that the much-coveted 1897 Carta Autonómica disguised a futile Spanish effort to preserve the loyalty of Cuba and Puerto Rico during the bloody years preceding the Spanish-American War.

This book is an important historiographical contribution on Spanish colonial Puerto Rico, particularly in its coverage of colonial-political developments after 1809. Its voluminous size is compensated by a comprehensive twenty-page index.

*Historic Architecture in the Caribbean Islands*. EDWARD E. CRAIN.  
Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994. ix + 256 pp. (Cloth US\$ 60.00)

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This book adopts the admirable aim of describing historic buildings of the Caribbean under seven main headings: the small residence, the medium-sized residence, the large residence, military facilities, public and institutional buildings, religious buildings and, finally, miscellaneous buildings. Covering this material in 256 pages necessarily leads to a rather superficial treatment, but the author has interesting and accurate things to say about most of the buildings that he describes.

The book's coverage is ambitious, taking in not only the islands formerly (and sometimes still) under British, French, and Dutch control, but also the great Spanish islands. Only the islands of Saint Vincent and Dominica seem to have escaped his attention. There is a one-page bibliography, from which Pamela Gosner's *Caribbean Georgian: The Great and Small Houses of the West Indies* (1982) and Eugenio Pérez Montás's *CARIMOS: Monumentos y Sitios del Gran Caribe* (1989) are unfortunately missing. Crain appears to be out of touch with some of the recent literature, as when he affirms that the great house on a sugar estate was normally "remote" from the slave quarters (p. 56), or that the "square" huts of the quarters were "arranged in neat rows" (p. 58).

The figures and plates are perplexing. The many recent photographs are almost all sharp and attractive, though they are often reproduced at a rather small scale. Alas, the rudimentary descriptions indicate neither the provenance of these photographs nor that of the historic prints that accompany them. There are a good many maps, but here the author has been ill served by his Press, for most are excessively pale, and the repetition of the general Caribbean map seems wasteful. In short, this is a useful manual of images of Caribbean historic architecture, but it is not rigorous enough to be of real use to the scholar. Perhaps such a synthetic book cannot be written until the theme of each of its chapters has been the object of thorough investigation.

*Back to Africa. George Ross and the Maroons: From Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone.* MAVIS C. CAMPBELL. Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 1993. xxv + 115 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95, Paper US\$ 12.50)

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Mavis Campbell has established a reputation as the foremost expert on the political history of the Jamaica Maroons through a series of well-researched and energetically written texts. This edition of the journal of George Ross confirms that her work is characterized by a deep sense of social compassion and an extensive empirical grasp of the Atlantic history of enslaved African peoples.

The Jamaican Maroons did not hold up the spread of plantation slavery into the remote spaces of the island. What they did, however, was something of greater historical significance. They held up to enslaved blacks everywhere, especially during the "long" eighteenth century, alternative models of social and economic organization that challenged the ideological hegemony of white plantation America. They went to war under the banner of liberty and legal autonomy, won and lost some battles, and in the process established an identity and political awareness that proved incompatible with the sweeping enterprise of European colonization.

While revolutionary France was seeking an accommodation with self-emancipatory black struggles in Haiti after 1794, the British in the Caribbean were mobilizing their military apparatus in order to silence all colonial voices that contradicted the imperial project. A major military assault was launched against the unconquered Caribs of the Windward islands, as well as the Trelawny Maroons of Jamaica. The former were subdued and shipped out to Honduras to starve on the barren lands of that colony. Bands of maroons were captured in 1796 and resettled in Nova Scotia, and later some 550 of them were shipped out to labor in Sierra Leone. George Ross, an employee of the Sierra Leone Company, was commissioned to supervise their transportation to Freetown, where they arrived in September 1800.

Ross kept a diary of the voyage from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone. The text is the fascinating construction of an Englishman, sympathetic to the ideological discourse of abolitionism, seeking insights into the complexities of an irrepressible black anti-slavery mentality. Recognizing in a limited way his own prejudices with respect to race and African redemption, Ross

takes extra care to rationalize his moral support of black abolitionism, but asserts the rights and superior wisdom of metropolitan anti-slavery strategists. These observations are woven into the matrix of daily deliberations, which at first reading appear as routine housekeeping matters, but on closer study emerge as a catalog of the distinct and diverse attitudes and beliefs of a militant but humane community on a journey through the battlefields of an equally irrepressible European imperial consciousness.

Ross took care in recording the Maroons' encounter with the "salvation" colony of British Sierra Leone. Here, we see them at work as the latest frontier builders, men and women making a special deal with the homeland of their ancestors. The deal, we soon discover, bred division; Africa for some was a place of exile, another transit station en route to Jamaica, land of their nativity. For others, it was a "free" beginning, an opportunity to project themselves as a privileged group, separate and distinct from the autochthons, with access to the periphery of colonial business and professional cultures. But it was a new beginning.

Campbell's editorial hand rests lightly on this rich and revealing document. She provides a preface and introduction that set Ross's project within the context of English anti-slavery discourse, and locate these maritime maroons squarely in the main currents of Caribbean and transatlantic black liberation struggles. It is a task done with sophistication and tact. The reader is provided with precise and portable instructions with which to freely follow the extraordinary trail. As an editorial style it works well – perhaps too well, because the text reads much shorter than its actual length.

*Black London: Life before Emancipation.* GRETCHEN GERZINA. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995. xii + 244 pp. (Cloth US\$ 29.95)

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Gretchen Gerzina soberly informs us of her recent discovery that eighteenth-century Londoners were accustomed to living and interacting with "actual black people" (p. 14) – something the readers of this journal certainly know but which, apparently, has yet to come to the attention of

many allegedly educated people. On the heels of Gerzina's grand discovery, she was outraged at the ignorance of a London bookstore saleswoman who frostily intoned, "Madam, there *were* no black people in England before 1945" (p. 3). Gerzina's exposure to the denial and erasure of a black history she herself had just become aware of appears to have been the inspiration for *Black London: Life before Emancipation*, the author's personal and professional attempt to combat racism and the misinformation on which it breeds by historically reconstructing black life in late eighteenth-century London. Laudable as her intentions are, however, they cannot conceal that she has written an entirely redundant book. In "repainting the picture of eighteenth-century England" (the subtitle to Chapter 1), Gerzina merely copies the work of far superior scholars in the field. Great swaths of material from Folarin Shyllon, James Walvin, and especially Peter Fryer stare up from the pages.

Throughout her book, Gerzina trots out all the usual material to support the important but timeworn argument that a vital, organized urban black community emerged in late eighteenth-century England, supporting and celebrating its existence in streets, wharves, churches, pubs, dance halls, whites' kitchens, and other meeting places despite deep and widespread socio-economic and legal oppression. The first chapter discusses black representation in public space, from printed newspaper stories on slave revolts and hue-and-cry advertisements to portrayals of noble African princes and liveried domestic servants in theater, art, and literature, to the grinding poverty of most of the slave and free black population. The next two chapters focus on gender. Chapter 2 illustrates the variety of male domestic servitude as shown through the lives of Jack Beef, Francis Barber, Henry Soubise, and Ignatius Sancho; Chapter 3 explores the special difficulties black women from Mary Hylas and Mary Prince to Dido (a.k.a. Elizabeth Lindsay, the great-niece of Lord Mansfield) endured in an era fraught with sharply contrasting ideologies about African sexuality, nobility, and primitiveness. Turning, in Chapter 4, to the growth of white abolitionist fervor in the latter half of the century, Gerzina recites the early lives and later participation of Granville Sharp and Chief Justice Lord Mansfield in landmark court trials treating the slippery issue of the legality of slavery in the British homeland. Rounding out the book are two chapters, rather arbitrarily separated, recounting the case of the slave ship *Zong*, the British government's relocation of blacks in Sierra Leone and the ill fate of that early colony, and the roles of Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharp, Ottobah Cugoana, and Olaudah Equiano in the abolition of the British slave trade.

A careful evaluation of Gerzina's notes and bibliography reveals that most, if not all, of her sources came directly from the scholarly apparatus of Shyllon's *Black People in Britain* (1977) and Fryer's *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (1984). More disheartening still, the book is rife with errors. For example, she contends that Ukawsaw Gronniosaw's *Narrative* was published in Leeds in 1814 (p. 20). Actually, the speculatively assigned date of what is generally considered the first known publication of this work is 1770. Although its printing history is extremely complicated and made even more difficult by inconsistent records in key references (some of the "editions" listed may represent confections or multiple copies of one issue), twenty or more different imprints may exist prior to 1814. The earliest definite date of publication – and, indeed, the more likely date for the first issue – is 1774 (Potkay & Burr 1995:24-26). Gerzina also claims that race was a secondary issue to poor blacks because "overwhelming problems of race ... rarely figure" in Gronniosaw's life (p. 21). She mistakes the pacific tenor of the text and the other conventions of the spiritual-confession genre within which his life story unfolds for a lack of dramatic evidence. If she had read his *Narrative* closely, she would have noted the harrowing situations Gronniosaw endured precisely because he was black: being duped and sold into slavery, then forced to turn to the uncertain mercy of alien whites; enduring the constant threat of being re-sold into slavery when, as a freeman, he remained at the mercy of an often capricious white society in the colonies, in England, and in Europe; meeting with persecution among the sailors aboard a privateer; and being displaced from his successful business chopping chaff in Norwich by the constant underbidding of local white competition.

Although this book probably is meant for a tradebook audience (words like *manumission* and *middle passage* are parenthetically defined in the text, and the book lacks a critical preface or introduction), it does not address that audience as clearly or cogently as the earlier works it relies upon. A handsome re-issue of either Shyllon's or Fryer's book would have been a far more useful publishing venture.

#### REFERENCE

- POTKAY, ADAM & SANDRA BURR (eds.), 1995. *Black Atlantic Writers of the Eighteenth Century: Living the New Exodus in England and the Americas*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

*The Cold War and the Jamaican Left 1950-1955: Reopening the Files.* TREVOR MUNROE. Kingston: Kingston Publishers, 1992. xii + 242 pp. (Paper US\$ 19.95)

*Jamaica's Michael Manley: The Great Transformation (1972-92).* DAVID PANTON. Kingston: Kingston Publishers, 1993. xx + 225 pp. (Paper US\$ 15.95)

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These two books are different in topic, style, and approach, but they both address the rise and decline of the Left in modern Jamaican politics. Political scientist Trevor Munroe, founder of the now defunct Workers Party of Jamaica, examines the impact of the Cold War on the Jamaican Left and the latter's contributions to Jamaica's incipient democratic movement. David Panton's undergraduate thesis resulted in the latest study on democratic socialism in Jamaica under Michael Manley. Going beyond previous works, Panton gives an account of Manley's post-1989 metamorphosis from committed socialist to champion of market reform. The two authors come to different conclusions on Left politics, with Munroe suggesting that Marxism may still be relevant for developing nations like Jamaica, whereas Panton urges Manley's successor to continue his neo-liberal economic policies.

*The Cold War and the Jamaican Left* is the work of a Marxist intellectual involved in deep reflection in the aftermath of the worldwide disintegration of socialism. Munroe's recent access to intelligence documents from the files of Jamaican Marxist Richard Hart, the British Trade Union Congress, and the British colonial and American Cold War archives, leads him to reevaluate a number of propositions about Jamaica and the Left during the decolonization period. Munroe presents evidence that the Marxist Left remained a strong democratic political force until 1954; that Jamaican Marxists had significant autonomy from the Kremlin during the 1950s; that the British colonial office took "progressive" as well as "reactionary" positions vis-à-vis the incipient nationalist movement; that while Cold War interference in internal affairs was paramount, Washington was realistic in evaluating the "communist threat" in Jamaica; and that the Marxist Left had been alienated from "civil society."

Left politics came under close scrutiny during the Cold War but were

not eliminated in 1952 with the purging of the Peoples National Party (PNP). The "Files" show a powerful Left presence during 1952-1954 in the local Trade Union Congress, the Jamaican Federation of Trade Unions, and the Sugar and Agricultural Workers Union (SAWU). Effective in organizing strikes against the colonial state, SAWU was carefully monitored by the U.S. government, which deemed it a "communist threat," and was subsequently overpowered by a coalition of American and local unions.

The Hart Papers indicated considerable deviation by Jamaican Marxists from Stalin's analyses of the party, the petty bourgeoisie, and nationalism. Jamaican Marxists viewed the national party, rather than a Communist party, as the appropriate vehicle for advancing the national movement. "Petty bourgeois" leaders such as barrister Norman Manley were seen as important mediators between the workers and employers. Black nationalism was viewed positively as it challenged white racism in colonial society. However, Munroe notes that the Rastafarians, the most visible nationalists at the time, were ignored by the Marxist Left despite the progressive anti-racist aspects of their philosophy.

The British Imperial government, although watchful of black radicalism, was not always in opposition to the anti-colonial political elite. The data revealed that the latter took up positions to the "right" of the Colonial Office when it felt threatened by a significant communist-led worker-peasant movement. After 1952, however, colonial state power was increasingly coercive, with the police and the army used to suppress "exceptional industrial action." There was special legislation against radicals, communists, and others, and restrictions on civil liberties and on the political rights of the Left. Dispatches from U.S. consuls in Kingston to Washington revealed that the presence of the Left in the labor movement was of serious concern to the U.S. government, but on only rare occasions were there characterizations of the Jamaican Marxists as a part of an international conspiracy rather than an indigenous movement.

Despite the overwhelming power amassed against it from both internal and external forces, the Marxist Left had its own internal weaknesses which contributed to its demise. Munroe notes the "mechanistic" tradition of Stalinist Marxism as a serious problem, categorizing realities in terms of objective iron laws. Internal divisions within the Left were ultimately a fatal problem leading to its dissipation. Perhaps the most critical problem had to do with the Left ignoring civil society and, hence, lacking a broad multiple-class political base that was important in the parliamentary democracy which emerged. The book is honest in its appraisal of the substantial shortcomings of the Left but Munroe believes that the positive contributions of Marxism are still relevant "for those who



still believe that further humanization of society requires fundamental structural change."

*Jamaica's Michael Manley* analyzes the role of political leadership and management in the economic liberation of Jamaica. Former PNP leader Michael Manley is the focal point of the study which covers 1972-1992. While this book does not bring new information to studies of the period of democratic socialism, Panton provides a very good synthesis of existing studies which will be useful for newcomers to this subject. The last three of the seven chapters, which delineate Manley's "great" transformation toward market reform, represent the best part of the book.

Panton attempts to answer two questions: What led to Manley's shift from state-centered socialism to market reform? And how was Manley able to implement the liberalization package? He argues that Manley shifted his ideology because of three factors: structural deficiencies in the Jamaican economy, the changing international economy, and a pragmatic reassessment of his past effort and possible development strategies for the future. Panton contends that Manley possessed significant political capital derived from his populist social image of the 1970s and was, therefore, able to mitigate many of the harsh effects of his economic programs. Moreover, he was able to woo certain sectors of the middle and upper classes, producing a loose national consensus that allowed him to withstand interest group opposition to liberalization.

Manley used shrewd political leadership, argues Panton, to substantiate an oxymoronic position: he was committed to socially-oriented programs within a market-driven context. He reasserted his faith in democratic socialism but insisted that only by using market forces would these ends be achieved. Panton is persuaded that Manley genuinely embraced neo-liberal policies, far surpassing his Jamaica Labour Party predecessor's limited commitment to economic liberalization. But to demonstrate his continued commitment to socialist principles and ideas, he provided credit for small businesses, instituted limited land reform, increased low income housing, and created a small number of community councils throughout the island.

Panton concludes that Manley's greatest political impact during 1989-1992 was in enacting a psychological transformation in the ways the Jamaican people viewed the role of the state. Manley allegedly convinced the population that the patronage-granting capacity of the state was non-existent and that individuals had to use opportunities outside of the state in order to improve their standard of living. Unfortunately, the author presents no evidence to substantiate this claim. Manley's greatest economic impact was said to be the substantial headway he made in reducing

and rescheduling Jamaica's foreign debt. Panton thus counsels Manley's successors to continue the neo-liberal policies which should result in significant long-term gains to offset the extensive short-term suffering that these efforts have produced.

For Caribbean intellectuals involved in "rethinking development" in this post-Cold War period, both books can help us to ponder some important political questions: How can the disappearance of the Left be explained? As a once powerful political force, what prevented the Left from consolidating its position? Why do democratic socialist regimes adopt neo-liberal economic policies? And can Left politics reemerge in the post-Cold War era despite the worldwide demise of socialism? These two books may not provide definitive answers to these questions, but they will stimulate thought among those who still seek answers to the problems that continue to plague the region.

*Ambivalent Anti-Colonialism: The United States and the Genesis of West Indian Independence, 1940-1964.* CARY FRASER. Westport CT: Greenwood, 1994. vii + 233 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00)

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Cary Fraser has written an excellent, exceptionally well-researched, and finely detailed analysis of the West Indian nationalist movement. His point of departure is U.S. policy and actions directed at the English-speaking West Indies during 1940-1964. Making copious use of official documents, many recently declassified, Fraser argues that the independence movement in the former West Indian colonies of Britain was shaped by American strategic concerns and economic interests as well as by the force of international events. Fraser shows the United States to be an increasingly dominant player in a tri-partite relationship that included Great Britain and its West Indian colonies. It was this relationship that defined the limits of West Indian nationalism.

Fraser's underlying thesis is that U.S. ambivalence to non-European anti-colonial movements, manifest in both support for and opposition to such movements, can be explained by unswerving adherence to its own self-interest in the international arena and to the currents of its domestic

politics. U.S. anticolonialism prior to World War II emerged as a calculated response to European neo-mercantilism and to the increasing importance of African Americans and West Indian migrants in the presidential politics of the Democratic Party.

American direct intervention in colonial policy making was formalized during World War II in the wake of a decision to provide destroyers to Britain in exchange for the right of the United States to locate military bases in Britain's West Indian colonies. American influence in these colonies came to be exercised through the establishment of an Anglo American Caribbean Commission in 1942. With American participation came intense criticism of Britain's colonial policies. This was informed less by enlightenment than by profound American concerns over the destabilizing consequences of resentment against European rule. It saw such resentment as responsible for the rapidity of Japan's advance in Asia.

With the end of the war, according to Fraser, the containment of communism came to be the driving force of U.S. policy toward Europe's colonies. A strong, stable, and resurgent Western Europe was central to this policy. In this regard, the maintenance of the empires of Europe's colonial powers was crucial. The dependence of Western Europe upon the economic surpluses generated by its colonies had increased in the postwar era. At the same time, America had managed to dismantle prewar mercantilist barriers. Germany was defeated. As a result, strategic and economic considerations diminished considerably in the U.S. assessments of support for anti-colonial movements. At home, racist views began to hold sway feeding notions about the unfitness for rule of non-European peoples. There was a new Eisenhower Republican administration whose electoral interests were independent of the African American vote. In this environment, support for anti-colonialism waned. A virulent anti-communism, spurred on by the McCarthy era, increased intolerance for nationalist movements even mildly critical of the West.

Even in this climate there were conflicting currents driving American policy. The emergent Soviet Union was providing avid support for anti-colonial movements in Europe's former colonies. The United States was cast in the role of a repressive reactionary power. This realization acted to temper American predispositions against anti-colonial movements. Nonetheless, American support for such movements, when forthcoming, carried the proviso of explicit commitment to an anti-communist and pro-West agenda.

Fraser demonstrates how these conflicting currents combined with the policy of communist containment to define the boundaries of West Indian nationalism. By the end of the 1950s, Britain had begun efforts to rid itself

of the burden of supporting its smaller colonies. It promoted a plan for federation as a formula for granting independence to its West Indian colonies. While not unequivocally opposed to West Indian independence, the United States was quite unprepared to tolerate any hint of anti-Western or radical sentiment. Underscoring American concerns was the coming to power through elections of a radical leadership in British Guiana in 1953 and again in 1957. There was also the presence of known Marxists in the region's nationalist movements. Finally, there was a campaign to force the United States to give up some portion of one of its remaining military bases in Trinidad. This campaign was linked, directly, to the issue of West Indian independence. The base was identified as the location of the capital of the West Indian Federation. Concern over these developments spurred the United States to act decisively to define the limits of West Indian nationalism. With American policy driving Britain's actions and decisions, the West Indian nationalist movement took on a decidedly anti-communist and pro-West character. Any hint of radicalism and anti-Americanism was expunged from the political parties that eventually led their respective countries into independence. Undergirding all of this was the turn taken by the Cuban Revolution in 1961. America was unprepared to brook another Cuba in the Western hemisphere. This phase of U.S. interventionism, argues Fraser, marks the passage of the British West Indies into the U.S. sphere of influence.

*Democracy in the Caribbean: Myths and Realities.* CARLENE J. EDIE (ed.). Westport CT: Praeger, 1994. xvi + 296 pp. (Cloth US\$ 65.00)

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This book has merits and demerits. Its usefulness is that it provides a genuinely comprehensive description and analysis of the modern experience of democratic elections in the Caribbean. It is organized by country and deliberately (and thankfully) embraces the Hispanic, Francophone, and Dutch Caribbean as well as the numerically preponderant English-speaking territories. All of the chapters (of which there are no less than fifteen) are written by acknowledged specialists on the countries in question – Carlene Edie herself on Jamaica, Ralph Premdas on Guyana,

Percy Hintzen on Trinidad and Tobago, Neville Duncan on Barbados, Dessima Williams on Grenada, Rosario Espinal on the Dominican Republic, Carollee Bengelsdorf on Cuba, to name only some – and all reach a satisfactory professional standard. The book is therefore definitely the place where students should begin their search for information on the democratic experience of the Caribbean over the past twenty to thirty years and even regional specialists with a good deal of existing knowledge will be glad to have so much useful information between two covers. A set of tables provides data on the distribution of votes and seats in different elections and the bibliography appears to be very thorough.

So far, so good. The disappointment of the book is that it does relatively little with the body of material that its contributors have obviously gone to such considerable lengths to assemble. Edie notes in her introduction that, despite the longevity of democratic institutions in the region, Caribbean states have not been as frequently analyzed as have other regional clusters. Indeed, she specifically highlights the fact that the famous Diamond, Lipset, and Linz series, *Democracy in Developing Nations*, made reference only to the Dominican Republic among Caribbean democracies; her volume seems to have been designed, at least subconsciously, to redress this imbalance. Several of the contributors cite the extensive new literature of American political science on “democratization” (of which Diamond *et al.* are representative). The problem is that the book as a whole does not really take up a position in this debate. Edie’s introduction is very short and does little more than highlight some of the themes subsequently addressed by the country-specific contributions. Critical hints are dropped, as in the suggestion that party political leaders in the region have generally viewed mass participation in politics as potentially disruptive of the social order, and reference is made to the continuing belief of many of the authors in the volume that “dependency” as a concept still has utility in the study of the Caribbean. But no systematic effort is made to tangle with the dominant literature and challenge its many biases. This is a missed opportunity of considerable proportions, given the wealth of evidence that Edie and her team do gather and present.

The point here, in a nutshell, is that the wave of “democracy” and “democratization” studies which have been produced over the last decade on Latin America and the Caribbean as a whole have highlighted only the more formal (and thus less substantive) features of the democratic political process and have thus served to conceal the deeper restructuring of state/civil society and state/market relations which is being enforced throughout the region in the wake of the debt crisis and the “lost development decade” of the 1980s. What is being forged in a range of Latin

American and Caribbean countries is a form of "neo-liberal democracy" which both facilitates the emergence of new policy coalitions favorable to market-oriented policies and militates against the effectiveness of political forces likely to oppose this policy direction, whether they be old-style trade unions or newer social movements. In some countries in the wider region which have a modern history of authoritarianism, this may seem like an advance; in other countries (including many of those in the English-speaking Caribbean which the volume discusses in detail) it is a retreat.

The Edie volume is well placed to address this development. After all, it explicitly takes democracy in the Caribbean as its theme. And yet, for want of a substantial and thoughtful concluding chapter which picks up and debates this trend, it ends up sidestepping perhaps the most important political issue presently facing the region.

*Politics and Development in the Caribbean Basin: Central America and the Caribbean in the New World Order.* JEAN GRUGEL. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995. xii + 270 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95, Paper US\$ 16.95)

*The Development Process in Small Island States.* DOUGLAS G. LOCKHART, DAVID DRAKAKIS-SMITH & JOHN SCHEMBRI. London: Routledge, 1993. xv + 275 pp. (Cloth US\$ 65.00)

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The role of development in the global economy has taken on greater significance since the crisis of the 1980s. Most of the development policies and strategies for the Caribbean have been prepared from the perspectives and interests of industrialized Western nations. These strategies are usually implemented with little attention to the specific needs and realities of the territories they are intended to transform. Thus, development often ends up increasing social, political, and economic inequalities. The two books under review attempt to explain the impacts of this kind of development process in the Caribbean and other small states.

*Politics and Development in the Caribbean Basin* is written for those unfamiliar with the area, to introduce them to the politics and political economy of the countries that make up the region. The countries under

review are those of the Central American isthmus, excluding Belize, and most of the larger, independent island territories located in the Caribbean. While most of the countries included share a common Hispanic cultural legacy, the author included Haiti and the Commonwealth Caribbean to illustrate the complexity of political traditions and structures within a very small region of the developing world.

By presenting the development process of both the Caribbean and Central America, Grugel reminds us that, cultural differences aside, the countries of the region operate under similar obstacles to development as a result of history, politics, and the pressures of the international system. A key concept of the book, "model of development," is used to describe and explain the linkages between political and economic decisions and decision-making.

Through brief historical analyses of the region's evolution and case studies of more current issues, the author argues persuasively that the region's model of development, which is one of peripheral capitalism and external dependence, has negatively affected its political and economic development. For her, the crisis that overshadowed the region in the 1980s was not simply the result of a temporary slowdown in growth. Rather, it stemmed from a pattern of development that provoked a series of profound internal contradictions. These contradictions can only be understood by looking in depth at the region's history and the framework of its politics.

The author is concerned with the extent to which race, ethnicity, class, and nation are forces of domination and resistance in the region. She argues that ideological cultural assumptions about ethnically and culturally inferior groups are used to reinforce class privilege. Class and ethnicity are intertwined in political struggles over the idea of the nation, and have served to hamper nation-building. She argues that the absence of national integration is at the heart of the region's external vulnerability, which is a major obstacle to development. Beyond that, the kinds of development in the region (generally export-based) uphold privileges of the elite.

She reminds us that decision-making, political and economic, is permeated with U.S. influence. In the 1980s the main ideological thrust of U.S. policy was to support moves toward democratization in the region. While democratization holds the possibility of creating more sustainable development, this is not likely to happen in the near future – first, because the kind of democratization that is occurring is only partial, with many authoritarian elements still contained within it, and second, because, in trying to overcome the crisis of the 1980s, there was a return to economic policies of liberalism and export-oriented development. These kinds of

policies lead to more social and economic inequalities. Even in the revolutionary regimes of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, the author finds that there was difficulty in designing an alternative development program, due in part to the obstacles in pursuing growth and development in small peripheral economies.

Thus, Grugel ends on a less-than-hopeful note. She reminds us that to bring about significant change in the region will require a transformation of political culture, with some measure of social justice, and an acceptance of the fact that the state must be insulated to some extent from local elites. Such a process will take a long time. In this book, Grugel gives those unfamiliar with the region or with political economy a good understanding that "economic decisions are also political and, therefore, development, if it is to be sustainable and lead to equitable growth, must also include political reforms which redistribute power – internally and within the international arena" (p. 232).

For those unfamiliar with the Caribbean Basin, a number of themes that are central to an understanding of the socio-political dynamics of the region were not covered by Grugel. These include a discussion of gender – a major oversight, given the significant role of women during the crisis of the 1980s. Another is the importance of emigration, which needed to be discussed in greater depth, since emigration was often a safety valve during the crisis. There is also no mention of increasing ecological vulnerability as a result of the kinds of macroeconomic policies put in place. These issues, along with others, are addressed in *The Development Process in Small Island States*. This is an edited volume with papers drawn from a conference held in Malta in 1990. Four of the papers in this volume deal with the English-speaking Caribbean.

Noting that islands are far from being places of unchanging tranquillity, the authors are interested in how islands cope with their smallness in the context of recent international economic and political trends. Russell King notes that islands usually suffer from insufficient resources and lack of employment opportunities for the young. Therefore, emigration becomes a fact of life, and may be necessary for island survival, but this is not without negative impacts. One of these negative impacts is discussed by Janet Momsen in a chapter on gender differences in perceptions of environmental hazards in the Caribbean. She reminds us that, in part as a result of the outmigration of males to work overseas, there has been a growing feminization of agriculture. There is also a decline in agricultural land, and a decline in the percentage of land actually cultivated. She finds a correlation between a high dependence on remittances and underutilization



of land – thus, one might argue, a higher dependence and consequent greater vulnerability to outside forces.

In fact, John Connell finds that conventional development strategies stay in place through a mixture of remittances and foreign aid. In many small states, remittances are the principal source of national income. He argues that a dependent relationship is maintained, with the structure of the economy having been transformed from subsistence toward subsidy. He does not see the possibility of any meaningful development. Focusing on the Windward Islands, Robert Potter argues for the adoption of a basic needs approach. Such an approach, which stresses redistribution rather than externally-oriented growth and gives consideration to a minimum standard of living in a society, should be seen as an overarching national development strategy. While noting that it is generally the non-basic needs of the more well-to-do that are served, he suggests that Grenada's brief economic experiment was based on grassroots development and thus, if left to mature, might have evolved into a basic needs approach. This kind of overarching national development strategy appears to be what Grugel is advocating as well, but she is much less optimistic that such a development approach is likely to occur.

*Public School Reform in Puerto Rico: Sustaining Colonial Models of Development.* JOSÉ SOLIS. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1994. x + 171 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95)

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This book argues that a principal instrument of U.S. colonial policy in Puerto Rico has been the public school system, and that school reform over the century of colonial domination has made a major contribution to sustaining the colonial relationship. Solis brings together theoretical models of development, a history of economic changes brought about by American free enterprise in Puerto Rico, and a history of pedagogic policies in the colonial school administration. He presents his initial arguments through theoretical formulations about the nature of development within the colonial political relationship. The theoretical positions effectively support the sections on economic development. The complex and less

theorized focus of the book, school policy and culture change, approaches explanations but is not fully explicit.

Solis reviews Puerto Rican "development" that turned a diversified agricultural economy marketing to Europe into a monocrop economy capitalized by American industry and exporting to the United States. Development aims were to be backed up by Americanization of loyalty and values and by mechanization of labor skills, all to be achieved through introduction of a public school system in rural and urban areas. Where there had been no rural schools and urban ones served a small elite and the preparation of priests, the American Commissioner of Education expected to transform the population by teaching American ideals of civics and hygiene as well as literacy in English. Migration of coffee and tobacco farmers from mountain villages to the expanded coastal cane fields and new centralized mills was followed by vast unemployment, soon a chronic problem. The later introduction of vocational schools produced a larger skilled labor force than the plantation economy, industrialized though it was, could employ.

English was intended as the language of instruction, but with few bilingual teachers, English early became the language of teaching above fifth grade (that is, above the main drop-out age), and was taught more in urban schools than in rural ones. Solis sees the imposition of the English language as a policy of "silencing the culture," a phrase borrowed from Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. In the imposition of English instruction, the Spanish language and the Puerto Rican culture it transmitted were to be silenced. Although Puerto Ricans had replaced Americans as Commissioners of Education after 1921 and Spanish was reinstated as the principal language of school instruction in 1949,

English remained an ideological instrument connoting a superior education. Taught as a subject, English was equated with notions of modernization, development, and, more generally, a progressive vision of the future. (p. 76)

The silencing of Puerto Rican culture continued in the drive for development and modernization. New Deal era and post-World War II American economic policies in Puerto Rico in the long run weakened local initiatives in manufacturing and state corporations. Pressures in the 1980s from business for labor force competence in a clerical level of high technology skills have driven curriculum reforms. This demand was met by growth in private secondary and post-secondary schools financed by American and Puerto Rican firms, and indirectly by U.S. government student aid and loan

programs. The expansion of private schools has left public schools underfinanced and deteriorating in the government school policies of both major Puerto Rican parties – the party favoring continuation of Puerto Rican status as a Free Associated State and its successor in office after 1992, the pro-statehood party. Solis questions the Third World's chances for playing in the global high tech competition, and he sees in the private school track to individualistic achievement the current form in which Puerto Ricans are continuing to identify with a colonized status. He sees the neglected public school system as the institution which can “forge an understanding between development and the Puerto Rican national culture” (p. 134).

Although culture is a frequent word and a central idea, this is not a book about culture. Its presence as the common identity which was silenced points to the general dilemma of culture in a modern reality. Solis theorizes about culture and culture loss but does not represent culture empirically. Puerto Rican culture is identified only as that which developed in “the forging of identity between the Spanish, the Taino, and the African” (p. 148). With culture occurring in this text only as a symbol of Puerto Rico, the reader concludes that its only reality is as a national symbol. It is a primary symbol in the three political parties contending for leadership, none of which, in Solis's descriptions, adequately represent the Puerto Rican problem. It appears that the problem, to Solis, is how to reconstitute a pre-colonial identity within the reality of an industrialized modern Puerto Rico. In the struggle for access to higher living standards, “culture” is increasingly a political symbol, and increasingly identifiable only as fragments and traditions.

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*Verbal Riddim: The Politics and Aesthetics of African-Caribbean Dub Poetry*. CHRISTIAN HABEKOST. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993. vii + 262 pp. (Paper NLG 80.00)

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In the militant spirit of archetypal dub poetry Christian Habekost selects the confrontational words of the Guyanese activist-scholar Walter Rodney to set the tone of *Verbal Riddim*:

... all white people are enemies  
until proved otherwise,  
and this applies to black intellectuals,  
all of us are enemies to the people  
until we prove otherwise.

Habekost is not inimical to the poetry of popular revolt. Himself a dub poet, he gives a sympathetic, scholarly account of the genre in *Verbal Riddim*. His talent for definition and classification is evident throughout, particularly in the introductory chapter where the parameters of the study are drawn and the "unique musico-poetic concept underlying the dub phenomenon" (p. 5) is foregrounded.

The forceful Jamaican Creole aphorism "Word Soun' 'Ave Power" (word-sound has power) is toned down in the distorted English translation "Word Sound and Power" (p. 1). Nevertheless, Habekost does stress the power contained and released in the sounded word. A brilliant example of his sensitivity to the synergy of sound and meaning is his analysis of the final movement of Oku Onuora's "Pressure Drop":

The collapse of the fragile status quo ("time dred, eart tun red ...") is echoed in the breakdown of the musical foundation. All the instruments are dubbed out except for drum and bass; these are mixed down to mere syncopated fragments until, with the ultimate "pressure drop," the music comes back with full force, creating the typical "one drop" effect of a reggae dub. (p. 124)

The book is divided into two parts. Part I, "Background," documents the cross-cultural development of dub poetry (and its analogs) in Jamaica, the United Kingdom, Canada, and the Eastern Caribbean. The influence of reggae is delineated; the role of Rastafari in the evolution of black nation-

alist ideology is analyzed; and the subversive aspects of the dub poets' use of Jamaican Creole are elaborated. Habekost, refusing to "recapitulate Columbus's fatal [West Indian] error" (p. 2), uses "anglophone" and "English speaking" to qualify "Caribbean." But these modifiers, erasing the creole-speaking majority in the creole(anglo)phone Caribbean, are themselves problematic, especially in a book on dub poetry.

In the final chapter of Part I the variety of dub performance is reviewed: *a cappella* recital, recording, concert, print, dramatized, and video. Part II, the proof of the dubbing, is analysis. Habekost gives perceptive close readings of paradigmatic poems. There are occasional mistakes: "chink," from Onuora's line "ina de slum man haffi live mongs rat, roach, fly, chink" (p. 120), is mistranslated as "holes in the roof." Here it means "bed bug." The generally insightful thematic analysis is organized into seven groupings: "the ghetto experience," "the political enemy," "campaign poetry," "alternative concepts," "political purpose versus entertainment," "women's dub poetry," and "revolutionary visions and revisions." The category "women's dub poetry" seems superfluous since outstanding poets like Lillian Allen and Jean Breeze transgress boundaries. "Gender" would have been a more useful category, requiring the interrogation of both masculinity and femininity.

"All great writers demand great critics" asserts the epigraph to Chapter 1. In this first book-length study of dub poetry Habekost argues convincingly that dub poets are, indeed, great writers as well as great performers. But in his enthusiasm to turn cautious academics into great dub critics, Habekost occasionally overstates his case. Literary critics, especially those of the Caribbean, who "search for linguistic intricacy and poetic sophistication instead of highlighting the African-Caribbean originality of the art form, its unique oral-music concept of voicing an indigenously black resistance" (p. 185) are dubbed "enemies to the people" – in Walter Rodney's terms. But "linguistic intricacy and poetic sophistication" are not foreign to the resistance traditions of Caribbean peoples.

Even dub poets themselves who "search for words unbroken by the beat," as Jean Breeze does in her poem "Dubbed Out," are chided. Habekost devotes pages 44-48 to critiquing Breeze's controversial statements on dub poetry reported in a 1989 *Voice* newspaper article, "Where Have All the Dub Poets Gone?" He reprovingly observes that "Breeze's remarks were perfectly in tune with those academics who had for years been concerned with the alleged lack of poetic quality of some dub poetry" (p. 47). But he does concede "the crucial importance [of debate] for the evolution of dub poetry" (p. 48).

Given his good intentions, Habekost ought to sense the limitations of the panoramic vision he privileges in his introductory chapter:

The view from outside can open perspectives and allow insights which insiders tend to ignore. Provided that they have done their homework, white critics may well be in a position which is advantageous to the exploration of a known yet foreign territory. (p. 11)

"Whiteness" is advantageous for the exploration of foreign territory. The historical evidence abounds. Mother wit is a decided advantage for the native exploring the territory within.

*Aimé Césaire: Le terreau primordial*. JACQUELINE LEINER. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1993. 175 pp. (Paper DM 48.00)

*Aimé Césaire: Cahier d'un retour au pays natal*. Edited, with Introduction, Commentary and Notes. ABIOLA ÍRÉLÉ. Ibadan: New Horn Press, 1994. 158 pp. (Cloth n.p.)

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The year 1993 was particularly fruitful for Jacqueline Leiner. Not only did she help convene a third international meeting in honor of Aimé Césaire, this time on Caribbean soil, but she published a second volume of her collected pieces, *Aimé Césaire: Le terreau primordial*. The first, *Imaginaire-Langage-Identité culturelle-Négritude*, entrusted to the same publisher in 1980, covered a much larger literary zone at the confluence between Surrealism and Negritude. This one is devoted to the poet whom Leiner deems the most important of his generation, the man without whom the Third World might not have been granted its legitimate place within the World (p. 31).

As Leiner herself stresses in her introduction, this collection brings together articles published elsewhere over the past fifteen years. Like the first collection, *Terreau primordial* is an eclectic compendium of her indefatigable and generous championing of Francophone poetics and Césaire's stature within it. One finds ritual program takes for an educated

audience (a two-page-long introduction to *Et les chiens se taisaient* for the *Bulletin de la Comédie Française*, for example), prefaces to other people's books, and general criticism, including the original of a piece translated in English for Albert Gérard's 1986 *European Language Writing*. There are also two interviews: one in 1975 on the resurrection of *Tropiques* (a piece already reprinted in *Imaginaire-Langage*), and the other in 1982, upon the release of the Césaire record done for Radio France Internationale, portions of which had already appeared in *Notre Librairie* in 1983. One essay, "Etude comparative des structures de l'imaginaire d'Aimé Césaire et de Léopold Sésar Senghor," first published in *Cahiers de l'association internationale des études françaises* (1978), had already found its way into *Imaginaire-Langage*. While purists may wonder about the overlaps, what *Terreau primordial* does is to make Leiner's work on Césaire more easily accessible, given the somewhat limited circulation of some venues (*Bulletin de la Comédie française*, for example), or the cost of others (re-edition of *Tropiques*). The beginning student who reads no language other than French and for whom these volumes were intended will be immensely grateful.

The volume conveys a keen sense of that which matters most to her in reading. Her deliberately simple, jargon-free style raises not so simple questions of ideological allegiances and linguistic subject-agency with admirable economy. While Leiner can dissect textual praxis with great finesse, the Sartrean in her always comes back to a blood-and-bones, situationally grounded human subject. If her claim that Césairean meter is a retrieval of specific African rhythms may make ethnographers pause in its unspecificity, her basic line of attack is eminently sound: from word to idea, idea to image, and image – auditory, visual, concrete (including typographies) and kinetic – to rhythm. Logos, which in the Surrealist wake she identifies as an ontologically grounded "image-thought," is for her simultaneously aggressive and transgressive, something which Leiner the critic owes indubitably to Leiner the writer. Hers is a visceral response. If her collection communicates a fraction of her enthusiasm to a more general public, she will have rendered poetry an enormous service.

The same passion surges through Abiola Írélé's annotated *Aimé Césaire*. One may want to compare it to Maryse Condé's 1976 brief *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal: Profil d'une oeuvre*, as well as to Lilyan Kesteloot's 1982 *Comprendre le Cahier d'un retour au pays natal d'Aimé Césaire*. Condé's slim fascicule, conceived as a study guide for "bachot" students, is a model of clarity that simultaneously assesses the work's place in the French tradition and, through a few key concepts (memory, history, language, and so forth), demonstrates what a true revolu-

tion the *Cahier* accomplished. Kesteloot's essay, conceived particularly for students who can read French but are not necessarily products of the French system, patiently pores over each line, seeking thematic convergence and carefully untangling Césaire's famously hermetic use of language and clustered metaphors.

Írélé's contribution expands and improves on both these formats, and positions itself for a slightly different audience. Comparative students (and their ever grateful teachers) will find it indispensable. His *Césaire* opens with a dense bio-critical introduction. Next comes the poem itself, the first time around in regular type. The second time, each stanza is repeated in bold type for a line-by-line commentary in smaller type. The volume concludes with a succinct beginner's bibliography that comprises titles by French, English, German, American, Canadian, Caribbean, and African scholars. But what makes this good-sized book in English (158 pages of appended commentary, plus some 65-odd pages of introduction) stand out from the pack is that it includes the full text of the poem in the original version only, thus forcing recalcitrant bilingualists to pay attention.

Írélé responds to Césaire as a literary historian *and* as an African. His introduction provides a balanced assessment of the vexed question of the relationship between poetics and politics in the corpus. For this Nigerian scholar, who was trained in France as well as in Africa and has taught in Africa as well as in the United States, Césaire's historical soundings can never be simple metaphors. They must always speak to (and from) a lived experience anchored in circumstances Írélé documents meticulously: Césaire's class, his political awakening in Paris, the Haitian and Harlem confluences, the flaring up of social awareness upon his return, and the deliberately romanticized use of Africa for "a precise psychological function in the context of colonialism, as an unburdening of the self" (p. xxxi). He situates the poet's challenge to Western poetics and explores how the poem's ideological grounding in race gives it a resonance that still transcends not only Caribbean history but narrowly defined literary or linguistic borders.

The ensuing line-by-line commentary is particularly useful in its re-ordering of the stanzas to their original length, and in cleaning up the misprints, something which the otherwise superb 1983 bilingual version by Clayton Eshleman and Annette Smith (*Aimé Césaire: The Collected Poetry*) had left undone. To readers long used to the successive Bordas-Présence Africaine reprints, Írélé's carefully corrected reproduction of the 1956 version reads almost like a whole new work, visually as well as aurally, given Césaire's systematic use of types and spaces to signify rhythm.

Having just taught an undergraduate course, I can attest to the enor-



mous practical worth of this work in the classroom. The exegesis runs from simple literal summaries to complex series of literate allusions, so that timid students as well as ambitious ones may each find something to hang on to. Printed in extremely fine script, the commentary turns out to be both copious and meticulous. It runs no fewer than 115 pages, and considers every possible interpretive strategy, from basic linguistic or stylistic challenges and inter-textual metaphors to extra-textual, biographical, ideological, and epistemological quandaries. It is a rich and intelligent demonstration that reading poetry *is* a cognitive activity. I send the curious among us to Íréle's gloss on the poem's hermetic last line, the infamously famous "immobile verriation." His sixteen-line-long entry elegantly moves from Latin ("vertere"), to Yeats's "Second Coming" and "Among School Children," to Eliot's "Burnt Norton."

The disparity between these two scholars – ever-expanding reading from Leiner, ever-sharpened focus from Íréle – shows the complexity of responses a major writer never fails to provoke. Leiner's volume uncovers her crucial role in establishing Césaire's credentials within the academy. Íréle's takes us out of the ivory tower into the trenches, "in the mind of communities who have had the experience of historical suffering" (p. lxix). Both imaginary autobiography and historical ethnography (this paradoxical oxymoron itself a most Césairean signature), *Le Cahier* transformed the Master's Logos. Not only was, in Breton's words, "a great black poet a-borning," but French language would never be the same. And, thanks to the empassioned response of such scholars, neither are we.

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*Austin C. Clarke: A Biography*. STELLA ALGOO-BAKSH. Barbados: The Press - University of the West Indies; Toronto: ECW Press, 1994. 234 pp. (Paper J\$ 400.00, US\$ 15.00)

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Ideally, a biography should be written after the demise of the person in question, but Austin Clarke, born in 1934, is still very much alive and if it weren't for his impatient biographer, Stella Algoo-Baksh, we might have had to wait many years before reading such a meticulously researched account of the life and works of this Barbadian-born Canadian who has become Canada's first major black English-language writer. In many ways this book is a rare enterprise, not only because there are very few exhaustive biographies of English-speaking Canadian writers, but also because the important writers of Clarke's generation who are still living, such as Margaret Atwood and Timothy Findlay, and about whom some biographical materials exist, would neither have allowed the publication of their personal correspondence nor revealed their personal lives in interviews the way Austin Clarke has done with Algoo-Baksh. This book is the result of a special relationship between the biographer and her subject – special in the sense that her reconstruction of a personal history is based on a deep understanding of the experiences of internal and external violence Clarke has known as a black newcomer to a white society. Algoo-Baksh is a professor of English literature at Memorial University in Newfoundland, but she is also a Trinidadian who came to Canada in the 1980s, about thirty years after Clarke's arrival. One has the impression that the process of producing this book fulfills her need to come to terms with her own trajectory, a need which Clarke might have understood as well.

Based on personal interviews, published critical material, manuscripts, private correspondence, and journals – many of which exist in the Austin Clarke Collection at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario – interspersed with photographs, this biographical narrative follows the chronology of Clarke's life, beginning with his childhood and youth in Barbados. It then moves through his 1954 arrival in Canada as a student at the University of Toronto, his marriage, his struggle to make ends meet, his successful forays, first into print and then into electronic journalism, his temporary return to Barbados, and his frustration at realizing how alienated he had become from his own people. We learn about his invitations as

writer in residence at various Canadian universities, his struggles with his manuscripts and his editors, and his ultimate recognition by the most important political and cultural organizations in the country.

The book maps the sources of his work: the literary influences of T.S. Eliot and James Baldwin among others and his observations of the West Indian immigrant population in Toronto which became the live material he "absorbed like a sponge." Algoo-Baksh emphasizes Clarke's contacts with the intellectual and artistic milieu in Toronto and the United States as well as his close links with elements of the Barbadian culture that he distinguishes from the Britishness of his colonial upbringing. Thus, without reinterpreting or analyzing Clarke's fiction, she indicates the relationship between the transformations in Clarke's social, psychological, and intellectual life and their impact on the development of his writing. It is this investigation of the creative process and the ways in which all the aspects of his lived experience feed his creative energy that are the basic focus of the book.

Several aspects of Clarke's personal struggle come to the foreground. Algoo-Baksh returns constantly to the recurring patterns of optimism and depression, his moments of "writer's paralysis" (p. 154) linked to his need to exorcise the traces left by the interplay with white supremacist tendencies in this society, the driving force of his writing at its deepest level.

Clarke was drawn to the political struggle in the United States and he interviewed Malcom X for Canadian Broadcasting Corporation radio documentaries. However, he also felt that writers such as Richard Wright, Langston Hughes, and even James Baldwin were

irrelevant to his needs because in his judgement, Wright and Baldwin as well as others are "writing from a different psyche" (*Sandbox* 361). West Indian blacks in Canada had not experienced the bloody history and the violent racism that have been the lot of American blacks, so that they did not react to white bigotry with the same intensity as their American counterparts and were in fact usually "annoyed to find themselves confused with other blacks." (Clarke, quoted in Algoo-Baksh 1994:45)

The negative role of women in Clarke's fiction, epitomized in his 1985 collection of short stories, *When Women Rule*, indicates a reversal of his "earlier, more positive portrayals in which women often display extraordinary strength and tenacity" (p. 162). In the 1985 collection, predatory women who humiliate men are "the major agents in the psychological debilitation of the male" (p. 161), but by balancing this apparent misogyny with the inconsistencies of Clarke's "mellower, more tolerant outlook" with regard to the women in his daily life, the biographer creates a portrait

of a man fraught with ambivalence and internal struggle. This ambiguity surfaces in various ways. His concern for the alienated members of an affluent society still allows him to work with the provincial Conservative Party, known for its mistrust of social programs. The tension between his "conviction about the virtues of all things English" and the "new belief in his black roots" which he absorbed from his contacts with Americans, is highlighted throughout the book. But it is precisely this ambivalence, that transforms the biography from the story of a Canadian-Caribbean writer into the significant post-colonial narrative of a Caribbean writer's quest to divest himself of the colonial heritage that has conditioned his psychic structures. Although Algoo-Baksh does not refer to Du Bois's notion of double-consciousness, she speaks of Clarke's "coming to terms with his duality" and quotes Fanon's canon to explain "the ambivalence toward self that is typically the black newcomer's lot ... baring the love-hate relationship in which the West Indian immigrants, and Clarke himself, often engage with Canada" (p. 184). This is obviously complicated by the fact that Canada, as a British settler colony, shares with the Caribbean countries certain problematic relations with the colonial metropole, relations which have filtered through the white society in different ways and which no doubt create double levels of alienation for the non-white newcomer. These questions, which Algoo-Baksh does not examine, might have provided additional parameters for her narrative of the differences between the writer of Caribbean origin and black American writers.

It would be premature to talk of the definitive biography, but this book, which reads easily and can appeal to the non-specialist, is nevertheless an essential work for sociologists as well as literary scholars and post-colonial theoreticians interested in a well-documented lived experience. In this case as well, Algoo-Baksh has made a significant contribution to Canadian literature, not only showing the importance of Clarke's work, but also bringing to the foreground the very conditions which constitute the convoluted polyphony of the Canadian identity:

I have lived with the racist demons ... But then ... I was faced with the schizophrenia of living on a landscape that I cursed and denounced, until I realized that, with wife and children born here, I was in a very real sense, Canadian, and no longer Barbadian, and most certainly, not African. (Clarke, in Algoo-Baksh p. 183)

*Deconstruction, Imperialism and the West Indian Novel*. GLYNE A. GRIFFITH. Kingston: The Press - University of the West Indies, 1996. xxiii + 147 pp. (Paper J\$ 350.00, EC\$ 25.00, £6.00, US\$ 10.00)

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Readers who resist the language of deconstruction may find that this short book takes a long time to read. The author states in his preface that "this work examines the influence of imperialist discourse on the West Indian novel and argues that a critical reading of the hegemony of empire as a discursive force, is crucial to any understanding of the literary and ideological status of the West Indian novel" and that it "engages deconstruction to facilitate" this process (p. ix). Its aim is to illustrate that in the West Indian novel "the dialectical struggle between language as self-reflexive object and language as unself-conscious representation combines with the discursive force of imperialist ideology to complicate narrative construction of personhood and selfhood" (p. ix). The "polemical conclusion" of the book "indicates that deconstruction strategies have long been employed by West Indians to salvage their 'being' from the onslaught of imperialist and Eurocentric misrepresentation of such 'livivity' as 'nothingness'" (pp. ix-x).

In arguing that "deconstruction ... is not the privileged critical discourse of either the French or Anglo-American critical schools" and that West Indians, including West Indian novelists, were "engaged in deconstructive activity as a strategy of survival long before ... Jacques Derrida or ... the postmodernist notion of deconstruction" (p. 128) came along, Griffith inadvertently invites the reader to ask this question: if the West Indian novelists used "deconstructive strategies" before the Derridean language of deconstruction emerged, why did Griffith think it necessary to describe their strategies in that language? Is this language truly "crucial to any understanding of the literary and ideological status of the West Indian novel" (p. ix)? Very likely, readers who prefer the language of the deconstructionist critics over the language of the novelists and earlier critics will say yes, and readers who prefer the opposite – and Griffith does say that this work is intended not only for "the reader who is interested in cultural and postmodern studies in the context of the West Indian novel," but for "literary theorists and scholars of literature generally" (p. x) – will say no. That Griffith places the criticism in the context of the novel, rather than the

other way around, may seem to some readers like just another Western exploitation of the West Indies, this time of its most honored natural resource: the imaginative intellect.

Griffith explains that "the narrative style of this work seeks a compromise between neat, coherent, compartmentalisation on the one hand, and disavowal of coherent categorisations on the other. That is to say, the narrative tends to inter-relate theory and practice, ideological and philosophical rumination with textual exegesis, in an attempt to have narrative method concur with the discursive integrity of deconstruction's privileging of instability and fluidity" (p. x). Griffith's scheme is to link Jacques Derrida's theory of *differance* with Michel Foucault's "discussions of discourse and power," to combine Derrida's "deconstructive interrogations with Foucault's genealogical analyses" (p. ix). Each chapter first offers a mini-lecture on an idea from Derrida, Foucault, Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Ashis Nandy, or some other critic appropriated for the purpose and then applies it to various West Indian works, usually novels, but sometimes criticism as well. Novels by George Lamming, C.L.R. James, Wilson Harris, V.S. Naipaul, Roger Mais, John Hearne, Jean Rhys, Earl Lovelace, and Erna Brodber, as well as criticism by Kenneth Ramchand, Edward Kamau Brathwaite, Harris, and Mais, are examined for their "alterity," "Eurocentricity," "imperialist stereotypes," "metaphysics," "materialism," "narrative strategies," and so on "in order to assess their relative awareness of ideological structures associated with imperialist discourse, and their counter-discursive strategies" (p. xxiii). Sometimes non-West Indian fiction is introduced for the sake of comparison; for instance, Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* is used to discuss C.L.R. James's *Minty Alley* and George Lamming's *In the Castle of My Skin*, and Herman Melville's *Benito Cereno* and Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* are used to discuss John Hearne's *The Sure Salvation*. Often there are digressions: Kenneth Ramchand's criticism is a frequent distraction. But the author keeps to his goal.

In simple terms, the goal is praise of the West Indian novels that most nearly succeed in satisfying the theory that Griffith appropriates. But on the journey to this destination, we encounter many failures, and, ironically, the author that Griffith ends up having the most in common with is the one he reviles most – V.S. Naipaul, whose "satirical vision feeds on nihilism" (p. 80). Griffith's view of most of the West Indian fiction he discusses is almost as nihilistic as Naipaul's purported view of West Indian life, and in his movement toward the success stories among West Indian novels, Griffith condemns many. DeLisser, James, Lamming, Harris, Hearne –

their novels fall short because to some degree they all "participate in ... imperialist ideology" (p. xiii).

The language of failure permeates the discussion of these authors' works. DeLisser, James, and Lamming may try to "valorize" the peasantry, but ultimately they founder because of "the representation of the peasant by the native intellectual" (p. 52). Harris's "failed attempt to escape the politics of *differance*" (p. 65), his creation of merely "a veneer of radicalism and iconoclasm in his writing that belies the conservatism of his epistemology," his demonstration of a "quasi-deconstructive sensibility and acuity in keeping with, for example, the Yale School of deconstructionists" (p. 69), his "degraded metaphysics" that "guarantees the impossibility of attaining the narrative goal as it simultaneously indicates the futility of the narrative quest" (p. 70) – all this failure of intention is superseded only by the "lack of self-awareness" (p. 76), the "historylessness" (p. 77), the "wasteland of the non-West" (p. 81) that the author associates with Naipaul. Despite what Griffith sees as Roger Mais's prescient recognition that "West Indian selfhood could only be successfully foregrounded by a deconstructive critique of the fallacy of self-presence" (p. 98), Mais's novels are "subject too to the pitfalls of the conflict" (p. 84) created by problems of representation. Though they "consciously struggle against the effects of imperialist discourse," they nonetheless "exhibit lapses and weaknesses in the resistance effort" (p. 113).

It is not until Griffith comes to his discussion of Rhys's *Wide Sargasso Sea*, Lovelace's *The Wine of Astonishment*, and Brodber's *Myal* that he gets around to saying what has been clear all along, that what he is doing is making "value judgements" about West Indian novels. Some novels are better than others. This admission he makes in a rather grudging, offhanded way: "Since literary theory and criticism may always be seen to contain the seeds of value judgement even though such may not be necessarily foregrounded, the foregoing analyses in this work also suggest value judgement" (p. 113). Indeed, value judgment is "foregrounded" throughout this book. And the basis of judgment is the degree of "narrative awareness of conflict between imperialist discourse and the representation of resistances to this discourse" (p. 113). Not surprisingly, a work that consciously rewrites another work that is a part of "imperialist discourse" wins the most praise: "*Wide Sargasso Sea* sensitively examines the nature of the oppressor/oppressed relationship, and demonstrates that within the facile categorisations of powerful and powerless there exists a vast range of complexities. In addition, through its strategy of writing itself as *Jane Eyre*'s pre-text, it examines and exposes many of the ideological assumptions of Brontë's novel; this is simultaneously its most laudable

artistic and ideological achievement" (p. 120). Griffith never critiques his definition of artistic achievement as the examination and exposure of ideological assumptions.

Much of what Griffith has to say has been said in other ways before or is evident to the reader without exegesis. This is true of his discussion of Rhys, Naipaul, Hearne, even Mais. Moreover, sometimes one feels Griffith has chosen the wrong book to test his theory; for instance, given his repeated references to Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Griffith might have examined Lamming's *Water with Berries*. However, there is no question that Griffith's study sometimes sharpens the reader's perception of the work at hand. This is particularly true of the novels of Wilson Harris, which have inspired more deconstructionist criticism than other West Indian novels. But in the end the reader may feel that what Griffith is saying is what has been acknowledged all along: West Indian literature is of the West. What previous critics have done is to emphasize the extent to which West Indian literature has resisted the West. What Griffith does is to demonstrate the extent to which it has failed to do so. That he should do this by using theory whose origins are consistent with what he recognizes as the deconstructionist elements present in West Indian literature before deconstructionist theory emerged is ironic.

*Caribbean Currents: Caribbean Music From Rumba to Reggae*. PETER MANUEL with KENNETH BILBY & MICHAEL LARGEY. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995. xi + 272 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.95, Paper US\$ 19.95)

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There have been precious few overviews of Caribbean music. The pioneering work in this field is a wonderful review of dance and music by Lisa Lekis, *Folk Dances of Latin America* (1958), which was based on her Ph.D. dissertation and includes a healthy review of Caribbean music. Then there are John Storm Roberts's two works, *Black Music of Two Worlds* (1972) and *The Latin Tinge* (1979), and finally, Kenneth Bilby's review essay, "The Caribbean as a Musical Region," in Sidney W. Mintz and Sally Price, *Caribbean Contours* (1985). However, in recent years there has been an explosion of focused studies on particular musical traditions within the Caribbean basin, from Bachata, the music of the Dominican



underclass (Pacini Hernandez 1995), to hi tech Zouk, a world music that began in the French Caribbean (Guilbaut *et al.* 1993). *Caribbean Currents* takes advantage of these new studies, of the notes to the quality CDs and LP records now available, of classics such as the many volumes on Afro-Cuban music by Fernando Ortiz, and finally, of the three authors' own field work. The result is a commendable and readable overview of Caribbean music, the first complete work of its kind.

The book begins with a two-page chart that gives the population of the Caribbean by island group (the Central American countries that contain Creole and Garifuna populations are deliberately left out, as are Caribbean influenced styles from Mexico and coastal South America save for Suriname and Guyana). The introduction (Chapter 1) briefly mentions the American Indian, African, and European cultural heritage of Caribbean people, and then takes up the process of creolization. There are chapters on the music of Cuba (2), Puerto Rico (3), the Dominican Republic (5), Haiti and the French Caribbean (6, written by Michael Largey), Jamaica (7, written by Kenneth Bilby), and Trinidad (8). Chapter 4 deals with salsa and other genres of the Cuban Diaspora and a catchall chapter (9) called "The Other Caribbean," deals with East Indian music in the Caribbean basin and Suriname. (The Suriname section is written by Bilby.) Each of these chapters contains brief bibliographical sources and a beginner's list of CDs available for the North American market. The concluding chapter (10), "Five Themes in the Study of Caribbean Music," treats unity and diversity; race and ethnicity; music, sex, and sexism; the musical Diaspora; and music and politics. There is a glossary of about 200 terms and an index. The best sections are those in which Manuel, Largey, or Bilby are expert, which cover the music of Cuba, the French Caribbean, Jamaica, East Indians in the Caribbean, and Suriname.

The authors put Caribbean music squarely in a social context: Manuel utilizes a sometimes overzealous but generally appropriate Marxist approach, Largey and Manuel both nicely deal with the vexing problem of creolization, and Bilby's anthropological approach is the best in the book for analysis of folk music genres. There is occasional sloppy prose and a low but steady rate of factual errors in some of Manuel's chapters. For example, on page 11 Manuel writes: "by 1860 there were no African-born slaves in the United States." But in fact there were a "few" such people in the United States. Again, on page 21 he describes "much of Yoruba culture – including language" as "lost in slavery" and then on the same page hints that some ritual language may not be completely forgotten. Manuel asserts that "Trinidad is perhaps most famous for its celebrations, complete with resplendent floats" (p. 126). Technically, however, the Car-

nival costumes of Trinidad are not floats; that is, they are self-contained costumes that are worn and motivated by individuals, not pulled or driven by vehicles or animals. And a lyric to the calypso, "Small Island" is quoted as: "small island, go back where you came from" (p. 232), but this line should read: "So Small Island, go back where you really come from." "Picky picky picky," you say, but the published rendering of the line glosses over the beauty of Trinidadian English. With some reflection, however, the slight discomfort I feel with Manuel's style and scholarship is not fatal. As an anthropologist, I like the way all these authors, especially Bilby, relate the folk music genres to the popular genres, and I like the way Manuel puts popular Caribbean music in a political context. The book is written so novices can get a lot out of it but experts will learn much also. I'm going to use it my "Music of the Caribbean" course and I may use it in other courses as well. I recommend it highly.

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*Cuban Festivals: An Illustrated Anthology*. JUDITH BETTELHEIM (ed.). New York: Garland Publishing, 1993. x + 261 pp. (Cloth US\$ 40.00)

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This charming collection of six essays and thirty-five illustrations covers a subject truly little known, even among the scholars and *afición* of Carnivals around the world. Because of the longstanding isolation of Cuba, Caribbeanists themselves have nearly forgotten the unique brilliance of Cuban music, dance, theater, architecture, cuisine, and popular culture. The editor, a student of Robert Farris Thompson, not only organized the influential *Caribbean Festival Arts* exhibition and catalog with John Nunley in 1988, but has done field research intermittently in Cuba for over a decade.

The first essay in this collection is an English translation by British historian Jean Stubbs of the 1960 version of "The Afro-Cuban Festival 'Day of the Kings'," which the magisterial Fernando Ortiz (1881-1969) founder of Afro-Cuban studies, wrote in 1920. As in Brazil, Catholic priests and the colonial government as early as 1573 allowed and even encouraged the African slaves to celebrate Epiphany, the Festival of the Three Kings, one of whom was thought to have been an African named Melchior. Free people joined in, and the dances, music, and costumed street parading described by various eyewitnesses demonstrate how early and how immense were the African contributions to what was to become the Carnival of the African Diaspora. Indeed, the picture of richly-dressed kings, queens, and courts, competing street bands (*comparsas*) of elegantly-dressed men and women dancing ecstatically, masks, parasols, faces and bodies painted or smeared with black oil, devils associated with several religio-ethnic groups, Indians in feathered headdresses, acrobats, jugglers, stiltwalkers, all collecting handouts, sounds remarkably like Caribbean Carnivals today – a point not lost on Ortiz.

Following this antique tour-de-force is its "Annotated Glossary" by American art historian David H. Brown which "attempts to define and/or elaborate upon a variety of African, Afro-Cuban, and Spanish terms that were italicized by Ortiz in the original text as culturally-specific usages or proper names" (p. 49). In this scholarly *tour de force*, widespread and infinitely tricky terms such as *gombay*, *tango*, *cabildo*, *kindembo*, *nganga*, and *uanga* are explained in all their multilevel complexity.

"Glossary of Popular Festivals" by Cuban scholars Rafael Brea and Jose Millet follows, defining a number of local musical instruments, types of festivals, their dances, songs, costumes, and idioms, including those introduced by Haitians into eastern Cuba. Like every other chapter, it is followed by an exhaustive bibliography of extremely obscure local sources invaluable to future researchers.

Bettelheim then provides an essay on "Carnival in Santiago de Cuba" pointing out that Carnival was cancelled in 1991 and 1992, first because of the Pan American Games, then by Cuba's increasingly precarious economic situation. She considers the strengths and weaknesses of Carnival-esque tourist presentations; problems of female exploitation, power, and sexuality in costuming and dances; and the "rescuing and preservation" of the Afro-Cuban (Yoruba) religious tradition. Unlike most other New World Carnivals, the street presentations in Santiago are formal theatrical shows before a limited grandstand audience, with no mingling of spectators or other maskers. And as in Havana (and Brazil, Trinidad, and New Orleans) the African presence in the local culture is being given new

attention and prestige. Of course the biggest change of all is the transferring of Carnival from its traditional pre-Lenten time in relatively-cool February or March to hot July in celebration of the success of the Revolution.

Bettelheim's second essay, "Appendix: The Tumba Francesa and Tajona of Santiago de Cuba" describes two similar "quaint" and "folklorico" groups which do not compete with other Carnival groups, and which descend in both blood and tradition from the Creole-speaking Haitians called *Franceses* who fled to eastern Cuba during the War of Independence in 1792 to establish still-important coffee plantations. Their continuing roles as mutual aid societies as well as Carnival groups, combining Vodun and Masonry in their long history of race pride, revolt, and rebellion, is a previously unknown revelation of Diasporic history. Indeed, the intense interplay of the Abakua, the Lucumi, and other sub-rosa and African-connected religious groups and activities throughout Cuban history is perhaps the most important revelation made by these essays.

Pedro Pérez Sarduy, an Afro-Cuban poet and writer, then offers "Flash-back on Carnival, a Personal Memoir" briefly describing his experiences at a number of Carnivals in rural cities and then in post-revolutionary Havana. Interspersing his nostalgic poetry, he points out the drastic changes in the various Carnivals, in particular the increasing acceptance of lower-class and darker-skinned maskers as the festival has increasingly been recognized as a valid and powerful national expression.

Finally, the thirty-six illustrations include twelve drawings of Carnival scenes and individual maskers from publications by Ortiz and others, plus twenty-six field photographs by Judith Bettelheim. Since reading about Carnival is as unsatisfactory as kissing by telephone, these lively and detailed pictures help immeasurably to bring these little-known and often-confusing secular rituals to life. A comprehensive index completes this model work which combines fresh analysis of earlier scholarship with sharply focused new research and commentary by local participants to open up a too-long-neglected area of folkloristics.

*Las fiestas populares de Ponce*. RAMÓN MARÍN. San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1994. 277 pp. (Cloth US\$ 28.50)

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This volume was compiled and edited by Socorro Girón and is illustrated with a reproduction of an 1881 photo album "Ponce pintoresco" by José P. Camy. I knew something was amiss when I first opened this book to the thirty photographs and realized there was not even one of a festival. In fact, except for an occasional group of people posing, in long shot, the photographs are devoid of humans – a great resource for architectural historians, but quite inappropriate for a book supposedly about popular festivals!

The remainder of the book is divided into three parts. Part one is an introduction by Girón, which is an interesting, annotated, and very detailed account of the life (1832-1902) of Ramón Marín, a journalist, educator, and politician. This forty-page introduction is as much about Marín as it is a history of Ponce and Puerto Rico. For example, Girón gives a month-by-month account of the political intrigues of 1887 and the role of various local newspapers in the struggle for independence. This introduction may be important to anyone studying Puerto Rican political history, the role of political parties, and newspaper affiliations. Girón does not mention festivals or popular culture in his analysis. Since he does indicate that during the later nineteenth century Ponce was known for its mercantile and artistic activities, it is unfortunate and really bizarre that the only mention of culture is a brief account of theatrical productions.

The second section is a reproduction – without annotation – of Ramón Marín's *Las fiestas populares de Ponce*, an account of the activities associated with the celebration of Ponce's patron saint, the Virgin of Guadalupe, during the month of December 1875. Most of it is concerned with official activities – celebrations held at hotels and ballrooms, the boat races and regattas, decorated buildings, banquet menus, etc. There is one brief description of a juried, indoor competition among *trovadores* (troubadours) and *tocadores* (drummers), who Marín admits represent the "rustic arts" of the country, or the *poética jibaresca*. Since slavery was abolished in March 1873, it is instructive, and indicative of this entire book, that Marín never refers to festivals of the newly liberated 6000 former slaves of Ponce.

The third section is a compilation of Marín's 1877 editorials from his newspaper, *La Crónica*. Again, no mention of popular festivals. Rather, this is an historical account of the city, with particular attention to its economic and architectural development. There are subsections dedicated to municipal administration, public buildings, agriculture, commerce, etc.

Today, the city of Ponce is known for its February Carnival, and is famous for its papier maché masks. A brief introduction to Ponce Carnival celebrations, with bibliography is available in *La tercera raíz: Presencia africana en Puerto Rico* (San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1992). Although the authors of this volume do not make use of any recent literature on Caribbean festivals, they do provide basic information. I can only lament the omissions in both Girón's and Marín's histories. Judging from Socorro Girón's other publications, his specialty is Puerto Rican nineteenth-century official history, and he has no interest in cultural history or popular festivals. The title of this publications is so misleading that I wonder about the agenda at the University of Puerto Rico Press. Certainly an official subtitle is called for, at least!

*St. Eustatius: The Treasure Island of the Caribbean*. ERIC O. AYISI. Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 1992. xviii + 224 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00, Paper US\$ 12.95)

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"Illicit trade," "'first salute' to the North American flag," "arms supplier of the revolting North American colonies," "Golden Rock"; for most people these are the words that come to mind when the Dutch Antillean island St. Eustatius or "Statia" is mentioned. As a consequence of Statia's eighteenth-century involvement with North America, the island was occupied and severely ransacked in 1781 by the English.

Not only for the public in general, but also for the present Statian population, much of Statia's identity is connected with its history. The present lack of economic opportunities, for instance, is often attributed on the island to the English ransacking of 1781. Eric Ayisi proposes that the island's eighteenth-century reputation as an entrepot and transit-harbor was so strong that St. Eustatius must have been the inspiration for R.L. Stevenson's well-known "Treasure Island." Moreover, Ayisi argues,

Statia still contains (hidden) treasures, such as an unruffled life and an abundance of historic spots which attest to the island's grand past.

The economic stagnation of Statia after 1795, due to several international developments, has indeed turned it into a paradise for the colonial archaeologist looking for remains of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. That is why the College of William & Mary, Virginia, started an archaeological summer field school on Statia in 1980. Ayisi joined this field school for almost a decade as an anthropologist, to study the present-day Statian community. He refrains from discussing why Statia captured his attention rather than any other (Caribbean) community, but explains that in this study he aims: "to relate the folklore, personal experiences and impressionistic views of the islanders," and to describe: "modal behaviour or idiosyncratic attributes. In addition, a historical profile of the people was necessary" (p. xii). This limited objective resulted from his disappointment in not finding on Statia a culture similar to the one he knew from his own African background in Ghana. He had expected easy access into the community, but instead was confronted with an unfamiliar culture into which he, though being black, was denied integration. For that reason, as he states, participant observation as a method was extremely difficult. Consequently, Ayisi relied heavily on gossip ("street talk") and, though he does not explicitly mention it, informants and interviews.

An "ethno-historical" approach, as it is announced on the backflap, to make the Statian community more transparent, looks promising. Many of Ayisi's observations and conclusions concerning the social fabric of present St. Eustatius are worthwhile. The overall result of this study however is disappointing: the presentation is messy, muddled, and unbalanced. The text is divided into three parts that read as if they had been written by different authors who neglected to synchronize their story. One finds sharp observations of present behavior coupled with uncritical and limited use of historical sources, as well as lengthy explanations paired with unfounded assertions. In every part, elements of the events of 1781 are discussed with many repetitions and often without any relation to the objective of this study. Opinions about subjects irrelevant in this context are more than once voiced. Sources that have been published elsewhere and are of no relevance here make up an important part of the contents of this book. Among the many errors are the consistently misspelled Dutch names and words. In short, this book badly needed a careful editor. The study lacks a well-defined central question but the real objective of the book seems clear: written for a North American public, it is in the end a plea to the government of the United States to take this island under its

wing, in order to prevent its people from developing an appetite for communism.

*Language & the Social Construction of Identity in Creole Situations.* MARCYLIENA MORGAN (ed.). Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, UCLA, 1994. vii + 158 pp. (Paper US\$ 15.95)

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This slim, handsome volume collects six essays from a 1990 conference entitled "The Social Significance of Creole Language Situations." That would have made a better title for the book: it is misnamed, being little concerned with the social construction of identity, which suggests content more closely allied with discourse analysis and linguistic anthropological studies of creoles. Other than the editor's, each essay by a prominent sociolinguist or creolist fits easily into the existing field of sociolinguistic creole studies. However, the book is challenging and readable, balanced in coverage (two papers each on Caribbean, Pacific, and North American varieties) and high in quality, examining the topics of literacy and educational policy, standardization/planning, decreolization and linguistic change, language attitudes and ideology, linguistic variation in creole continua, autonomy of creoles vis-à-vis standard languages, and social stratification and stylistic differentiation of speech. The discipline of creole studies is currently rife with surveys and textbooks that shortchange social context; this book, though making no claim to comprehensiveness, is a welcome antidote.

The predominant theme is the range of language varieties in creole communities, explored both in relation to general social contexts of language use and to specific concerns of standardization, literacy, and use in schools. This best characterizes the Caribbean essays (by Mervyn Alleyne and Donald Winford, each touching on a range of mostly Anglophone creoles) and the Pacific ones (Karen Watson-Gegeo on Hawai'i Creole English, and Suzanne Romaine on Tok Pisin, spoken in Papua New Guinea), while the North American essays (by Salikoko Mufwene on Gullah, and the editor on African-American English) diverge somewhat.



After a thoughtful overview by the editor, Alleyne's "Problems of Standardization of Creole Languages" briefly but insightfully considers the importance of language ideology and perceptions in identifying and selecting structural levels of a creole language for instrumentalization and planning. Alleyne describes the peculiar position of Anglophone societies such as Jamaica and Trinidad (often labelled "creole continua"), where dividing lines between creole varieties and English are difficult to draw, and questions whether standardization ought to emphasize the creole's autonomy or reflect the social reality of dominant urban forms. He also reflects upon the ideology, interests, and practice of creolists, both local and metropolitan, weighing their scholarly exploitation of creoles as raw resources against the practical benefits and interests of creole speakers, whom he finds under-served. Alleyne raises interesting issues of style and register development, before concluding by urging that standardization and official status be considered independently as language planning goals.

"Sociolinguistic Approaches to Language Use in the Anglophone Caribbean" by Winford – a Trinidadian, like Alleyne – takes a more conventional view, optimistic about the mutual contributions of theoretical and applied research but lamenting the limited influence of scholars on the public and policymakers. This survey situates English-lexicon creoles within the Caribbean, describing their speech communities as diglossic (with Standard English as the high-prestige variety) and focusing on the creoles' claims to autonomy. Winford acknowledges and explores structural and social problems with such claims, fairly outlining reasons for controversy, but concludes by asserting that consensus exists on both theoretical and practical grounds for accepting that the creoles are wholly autonomous with respect to Standard English. Given the complexity of explaining variation in intermediate (i.e. mesolectal) speech, this seems too strong. In addition to reviewing studies of sociolinguistic stratification by large-scale variables (class, rural/urban origin, ethnicity), Winford argues powerfully that creole vernaculars are the focus of linguistic loyalty, and stresses the importance of speaker agency and complex micro-contextual factors in language choice. He notes the linguistic basis of problems in literacy and education reform, but urges greater instrumentalization of creoles in other domains as well, supporting their use as official languages.

In "On Decreolization: the Case of Gullah," Mufwene recapitulates previously published arguments against structural attrition of this South-eastern U.S. coastal creole. Comparing recent recordings to earlier texts, he finds the same range of variation in Gullah today as a century ago, with no erosion of grammar. More provocatively, he delivers an extended critique

of decreolization, distinguishing structural attrition from language death and charging that "less creole" is an incoherent notion. Mufwene carries to extremes the idea that creoles cannot be defined purely by linguistic features, claiming "creole" refers exclusively to sociohistorical genesis – regardless of later events. (Thus a variety which underwent complete structural attrition by replacement – e.g., becoming a regional dialect of English – would still be a "creole.") He dismisses the idea of decreolization as change in proportion of basilectal speakers since it is "hard to verify" under his historical scenario (borrowed from Chaudenson but, he admits, unsupported by documentation for Gullah). Again offering no evidence, he asserts that Gullah has not contracted its domains of use, despite the growth of bilingualism in standard English. Mufwene, a theoretical linguist, seems unaware of how important such factors are to determining language loss on the speech community level. However, his attack on decreolization is a useful compendium of arguments challenging this unwieldy concept.

Morgan's essay, "The African-American Speech Community: Reality and Sociolinguists," extends a point raised by Alleyne: for sociolinguistic research to benefit U.S. African American (AA) speakers, it must fairly represent them. Morgan argues persuasively that crude, overgeneral descriptions of the AA speech community which ignore changing class dynamics, exclude women, and stereotype sexual attitudes in presenting linguistic data, reinforce the image of African-American English (AAE) as a sign of poverty and oppression and only help marginalize its speakers. She reviews the well-known 1978 King school case in Ann Arbor, which focused on whether AAE differed substantially from Standard English, and William Labov's research on the divergence of AAE from white vernacular speech. The AA press responded to such research with rejection, distortion, and suspicion, Morgan writes, partly because linguists (white and black) failed to incorporate African-American values and beliefs about language and education into their research and reform plans. In-group attitudes to AAE vary, depending on context of use. In settings where AAE is normally spoken, it is positively valued as symbolizing community membership across class lines; in the "dominant sphere," it represents solidarity and resistance to Standard English, yet is itself seen by some African Americans as indicative of a "slave mentality." Morgan's study has obvious relevance for Caribbean creole situations and is convincingly argued, though few sociolinguists will recognize her depiction of their field as one that routinely ignores language attitudes and privileges standard languages over vernacular.

Watson-Gegeo's impressive survey of "Language and Education in Hawai'i" is concise and up-to-date (as of the 1990 conference for which it was written). Romaine's paper, "Language Standardization and Linguistic Fragmentation in Tok Pisin," traces a fascinating history of the consequences of missionary and government literacy and education efforts. Both will be of great use and pleasure to readers with Pacific interests.

The book is attractive, sturdy, and inexpensive (though not perfectly proofed: e.g., Morgan's essay fails to list eight mentioned references, while her footnote 18 and Winford's footnote 5 are omitted). A valuable contribution to the research literature, this collection will also be a useful supplement to graduate courses in pidgins/creoles, sociolinguistics, and linguistic anthropology.

*The Early Stages of Creolization.* JACQUES ARENDS (ed.). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995. xv + 297 pp. (Cloth US\$ 75.00)

*Serial Verbs in Saramaccan: Predication and Creole Genesis.* TONJES VEENSTRA. The Hague: Holland Academic Graphic, 1996. x + 217 pp. (Paper NLG 63.60)

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The reader is asked to imagine the following corpus: three letters written by French-born planters in Virginia to the British government in 1690; a four-page agreement by a Hessian general to fight alongside the American colonists during the Revolutionary War; a diary written in 1810 by the Swedish-born wife of a Congressional representative; fifteen letters home written by African-born Civil War soldiers; a phrasebook for French travelers to the United States from 1882; and the transcript of a radio broadcast by an Austrian-born comedian in 1936.

Now, imagine that the year is 2250, and that a cadre of scholars count the occurrences of pronouns, articles, and copulas in these documents – none written by native speakers of English – and submit them to quantificational analysis. Finally, imagine the results presented as depicting the development of vernacular American English!

This is a fanciful, but fair, analogy to the recent work on early creole documents by a number of creolists, several represented in Arends's anthology. These scholars see early documents written in Sranan, Saramaccan, and Negerhollands as a way of charting the genesis of creole languages more concretely than via mere sociohistorical speculation. Since Caribbean plantation creoles are among the world's newest languages, having certainly not existed before the advent of the European slave trade in the 1500s, this endeavor has the potential promise of revealing the birth of language itself.

However, these documents can only be responsibly used in full cognizance of four unfortunate facts about creoles and their documentation. First, almost all of these documents were written by Europeans with non-native competence, if any, in the creole. Even the letters written "by" slaves were usually transcribed by these Europeans. And even when the Europeans' competence appears to have been "good," we must ask ourselves how confidently we would chart the history of English based solely on materials written by Chinese missionaries whose competence in English was "good."

Second, creoles are denigrated oral vernaculars, usually spoken alongside prestigious, written lexifiers. The authors of the early documents predictably tended to shift the creole towards the lexifier considerably, which betrays itself in suspiciously "written" constructions that are unlikely to have ever been current among black plantation workers.

Third, many constructions in a creole which appear to have developed gradually are mirrored in the African languages spoken by the first slaves, and thus are likely to have been borrowed from these languages having already evolved.

Finally, documentation generally begins so long after the creole emerged that there is a question as to whether the documentation captures creole "genesis" at all. For example, we have no remotely substantial document in Sranan until about 125 years after the colonization of Suriname.

To be fair, the authors in this volume acknowledge all of these issues. However, one misses a full realization that these facts unequivocally limit the documents to a supplementary role in work on creole genesis. The nature of the documents is such that no conclusions can be based solely, or even primarily, upon them. They can only be responsibly used in combination with comparative reconstruction, sociohistory, and general diachronic principles.

Nevertheless, many of the authors essentially approach the documents the way Indo-Europeanists have the luxury of approaching their corpora, constructing arguments based mostly upon so-called "developments" in

the documents. The problems I have noted are less grappled with than swept under the rug. For example, Frans Hinskens and Cefas van Rossem chart the "decline" of the use of the Negerhollands pronoun *sender* "they, them" in a relative construction. However, the documents they refer to are in an elevated "Religious Negerhollands," much closer to Dutch than slaves' everyday speech. Acknowledging this, they claim that Religious Negerhollands "probably played a prominent role in the history of Negerhollands, as it was used by the missionaries" (p. 84). However, sociolinguistic plausibility dictates that white men's attempts at speaking their language can have had no more than marginal influence, lexical at best, upon slaves' everyday vernacular. This paper can only be said to show a development in an artificial, non-native approximation of Negerhollands. In the strict sense, it tells us little about the development of the plantation creole itself.

A similar case is Hein van der Voort and Pieter Muysken, who conclude that Negerhollands diverged increasingly from Dutch over time. However, given that all of these documents are either written by, or transcribed by, Europeans, there is no reason to assume that a deep Negerhollands did not already exist even when the earlier, Dutch-leaning documents were composed. The authors' quantificational analysis reflects the documents, but not slaves' everyday speech.

None of this, however, is to deny the great service these scholars have rendered in transcribing these documents. Written with quill and ink on decaying paper in difficult-to-decipher script, and existing usually in single copy held in archives, early creole documents are an intimidating corpus, and creolists owe endless gratitude to these authors for their assiduous work.

Moreover, Adrienne Bruyn's contribution, on the development of relative clauses in Sranan, is an exception to my above reservations. Taking full account of the problems I have noted, she concludes that a relative marker which appears to "develop" in early Sranan documents was actually in place by the late 1600s, almost a century before substantial documentation begins. She also convincingly demonstrates that the marker was modeled upon African equivalents, not an independent development.

Furthermore, Arends's "Demographic Factors in the Formation of Sranan" is an authoritative survey of the colonization of Suriname, including ethnic, sexual, and age composition of slaves, and general rate of growth of the slave population. Including data from the latest historical surveys and even revising figures when necessary, this article is a crucial reference for all future work on Suriname creole genesis.

Saramaccan has long been central to creolistics debates, argued by some

to be Universal Grammar on View and others to be the most "African" of creoles. Veenstra's book is a welcome study of Saramaccan syntax, couched in the Government-Binding framework and based on the most thorough informant work to date in this language.

The first six chapters are nothing less than exemplary work. Veenstra addresses a range of crucial issues in generative linguistics, most stimulating being his treatment of the precise definition of serial verb construction (e.g., *mi bái en dá Kofi* I buy it give Kofi 'I bought it for Kofi'), a feature famously robust in Saramaccan. This is the first treatment of serialization in creoles which refers to the full range of the literature on the subject over the past thirty-five years. Furthermore, the title is happily misleading: since Veenstra's central claims about serial verbs are founded upon analysis of various other aspects of the syntax, the book is more properly a useful survey of the Saramaccan verb phrase in general.

I wish I could be as enthusiastic about the final chapter, where Veenstra concludes on the basis of his analyses that the languages spoken by Saramaccan's West African originators had no appreciable role in shaping its structure, casting his lot with the "Universal Grammar on View" position mentioned above.

One cannot argue with his contention that matching up similar constructions in creoles and African languages is shoddy argumentation for West African influence. However, in singling out McWhorter (1992) as an example of such an argument (p. 179), Veenstra betrays having apparently examined only a few pages of that article, in which the comparison of Saramaccan and West African serial verbs is merely a springboard for a survey of cross-creole, cross-linguistic, and Saramaccan data. Veenstra also requires of a borrowing argument that constructions match precisely, when it has been demonstrated that languages rarely borrow constructions in pristine form (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:161).

Thus Veenstra's acceptance of the Bickertonian argument that children built Saramaccan via innate default strategies from formless linguistic input is truly stimulating in itself. However, it is written in neglect of myriad coherent demonstrations to the contrary, and thus must ultimately be judged an incomplete argument. A question neither Veenstra nor the few other creolists upholding this innatist scenario have answered is: how likely is it that Saramaccan was an isolated, innate creation when its grammar patterns so idiosyncratically with that of Sranan, the creole which emerged on the plantations Saramaccan's founders escaped from? Various scholars have depicted Saramaccan as a development of Sranan; given that one of these is even a member of Veenstra's own department (Smith 1987), readers will particularly miss an engagement with this work.

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